

# IN THESE TIMES

From the  
Polish press



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## Lone Star Populist

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changing the face  
of Texas politics.  
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# THE INSIDE STORY



## Arms gap sows seeds of dissent

By William Burr

WASHINGTON

There has been a tight lid on political debate surrounding strategic commitments to Europe for more than 30 years. But now Reagan administration officials fear a coming "great debate" over NATO. Recent controversy over federal spending made congressional scrutiny of NATO's gargantuan budgetary appetite nearly inevitable. What now worries the State Department is that liberals and conservatives may form an "unholy alliance" against U.S. subsidies for European defense.

Only a few U.S. representatives have gone on the offensive against the U.S. NATO budget by proposing substantial reductions of the 337,000 U.S. troops stationed in Europe. But as long as defense spending is at the center of political controversy over strategic, and economic policies troubling U.S.-European relations, the potential congressional constituency for the retraction of U.S. troops remains large. Portents of a challenge to NATO have set off alarm bells in the State Department, where officials fear that a recall of troops will unravel the alliance and strengthen Euro-Soviet economic ties.

This controversy is rooted in post-World War II planning, when Truman administration officials such as George C. Marshall and Averell Harriman concluded that transatlantic capitalist stability required explicit U.S. military guarantees. From the '40s on, the U.S. bore a large share of the costs of underwriting European defense. But beginning in the '60s, Washington began to press the Europeans to increase their defense budgets to ensure "equitable burden sharing." The Carter and Reagan administrations continued this tendency by exhorting the Europeans to live up to a 1978 agreement to achieve annual 3 percent real in-

creases in defense budgets. But the European governments—facing domestic opposition to military budget increases—have different perceptions about the "military threat" of the Soviet Union and generally oppose military buildups that could jeopardize detente. Consequently, they have been slow to take action.

Irritation at the administration's failure to prod lagging European defense efforts was evident during recent Senate hearings. Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) expressed the suspicions of liberal and conservative colleagues alike when he complained that all the Defense Department does is "make rationalizations...for sticking American taxpayers with the bill for defending Europe." The "bill" is enormous. According to a 1981 Government Accounting Office report, the U.S. spends more than \$65 billion annually to defend Europe. And next year the Reagan administration plans to increase this to over \$100 billion, or 50 percent of the Defense Department's fiscal 1982 budget.

Restiveness among congressional liberals and fiscal conservatives over Reagan's "entitlement" program for the defense sector has generated renewed discussion of the "Mansfield Amendment." First proposed during the late '60s, when a weakening dollar prompted close congressional review of American overseas military spending, then-Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) called for substantial troop withdrawals from Europe. By 1970, the proposal had gathered 50 senatorial co-sponsors, but "old guard" Eastern establishment opposition mobilized by Nixon and Kissinger helped defeat it in 1971. But current U.S. fiscal and economic problems and U.S.-European tensions have produced a new current of "Mansfieldism" that runs so deep that Sen. Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) and other Republican leaders fear using a Mansfield amendment to press the Europeans to increase their military budgets.

With the Republicans holding fire, liberal Democrats took the initiative on March 4, when Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.), a member of the House Armed Services Committee (and a strong supporter of a nuclear freeze), introduced a slightly modified version of the Mansfield Amendment. Dan Buck, Schroeder's legislative assistant, told *In These Times* that Schroeder had been thinking about this proposal since early 1981 and "was tired of reading about people threatening it." Her resolution rests on three basic premises: European capacity for self-defense is large enough to offset any reduction of U.S. defense support; NATO's "burden sharing" has not occurred on a "fair and equitable" basis; and Western European and Soviet interest in detente and its economic benefits has supplanted the military tensions that characterized the '40s and '50s.

A search for policy alternatives to the NATO commitments that restrict options for both the U.S. and Western Europe influences Schroeder's thinking. According to Buck, she believes that NATO obligations dangerously reduce U.S. "freedom of action." Schroeder has not explicitly developed this point, but her interest in strategic flexibility may come in part from analysts' worries about a U.S. military policy that automatically couples U.S. first use of nuclear weapons with the outbreak of a European war.

Schroeder oriented her resolution toward the some 40 representatives who have recently made statements critical of NATO policy. But so far she has only won support from eight Democrats. The issue, however, is not dead. A resurgence of Mansfieldism is spreading among the ranks of moderate and conservative Republicans who are concerned about staggering deficits and a

dangerous arms race, or are miffed by the European interest in detente.

It is unlikely that House Republicans, or Democrats for that matter, will embrace Mansfieldism until the issue takes hold in the Senate. No "bring the boys home" legislation has entered the upper house, but if it does its sponsor will undoubtedly be conservative Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska). Unlike Schroeder, who interprets economic detente as evidence of a more peaceful Europe, Stevens and other Republicans see the Soviet-German pipeline deal and other Euro-Soviet commercial agreements as proof of European perfidy. Stevens rejects military budget cuts involving cancellation of new weapons systems and instead proposes that the U.S. "reduce the costs of operations in Europe this year."

It is possible that Stevens' stance is designed to scare the Europeans into military budget increases. If so, he is also alarming the Pentagon. As chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense, Stevens hammered away at U.S. subsidies to NATO. The Alaskan put Pentagon policymakers on the defensive when he accused them of sending 58,000 troops to Europe—21,000 are to be sent during 1982-83—without consulting Congress.

Before the Pentagon's debacle on Capitol Hill, the Reagan administration was alarmed that antinuclear liberals and "unilateralist" conservatives were reaching similar policy conclusions about NATO. It began political warfare on behalf of NATO when U.S. ambassador to France Evan G. Galbraith addressed the Council on Foreign Relations several weeks ago. He warned that if the U.S. pulled troops from Europe, it would lose leverage over transatlantic political and economic developments. According to Galbraith, by offering to make huge orders from West German industry, the Soviet Union could induce the two Germanies to unite on a neutral and demilitarized basis. Other European governments would follow the Germans and increase their orientation toward Eastern markets. Galbraith's "nightmare" includes Soviet intervention in the Near East and the election of an "antinuke" government in Britain. The central fear—which has haunted presidents and their advisers since the turn of the century—is the rise of a Euro-Soviet economic bloc that could drive U.S. corporations out of world markets.

Galbraith's speech represents the beliefs of such committed "Atlanticists" as Secretary of State Alexander Haig whose views now prevail in administration councils. But it will be interesting to watch the activities of a Pentagon faction—chiefly the Navy Department and some civilian appointees—that looks to a naval strategy to supplant the current European emphasis of U.S. policy. This group may find some sympathy at the White House. During a West Point speech last year, President Reagan strongly endorsed a book by his "good friend" right-wing foreign policy analyst Lawrence Beilenson. In *Survival and Strategy in the Nuclear Era*, Beilenson prescribes a U.S. withdrawal from Europe, a "Fortress America" posture and nuclear weapons for West Germany.

Wherever Reagan's personal sympathies lie, he is apparently persuaded by State Department arguments that troop retractions would increase U.S.-European tensions and perhaps lead to a U.S. corporate defeat in world markets. But U.S. economic problems, U.S.-European discord over a nuclear and economic policy issue and tensions caused by the Falkland Islands war may keep the troop-withdrawal issue on the congressional agenda. And NATO's entrance into the U.S. political arena could subject all U.S. foreign policy commitments to public review.

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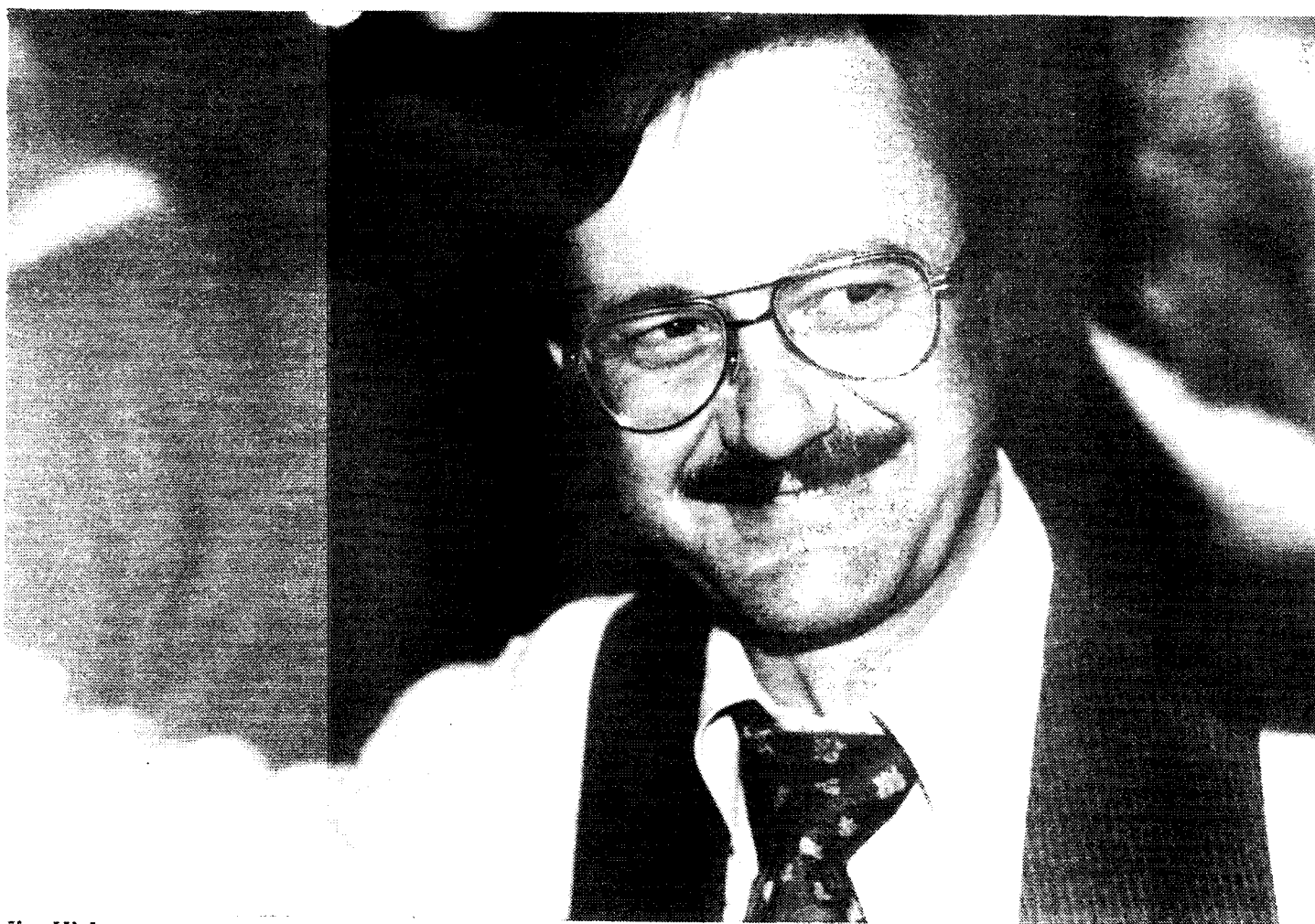
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IN THESE TIMES

# Hightower coasts to victory



Jim Hightower says he speaks what's on people's minds.

By Joe Holley

AUSTIN, TX

"I'VE NEVER EVEN HEARD of Jim Hightower," Texas agriculture commissioner Reagan Brown told state capitol reporters one morning last winter. The 60-year-old conservative Democrat boasted, "I'm gonna beat him like a drum."

Brown never knew what hit him. Running in the Texas May 1 Democratic primary, Hightower, the 39-year-old former *Texas Observer* editor, combined an extremely effective statewide grassroots organization, a campaign chest full enough to be competitive and a string of timely boners from the incumbent to amass almost 60 percent of the vote in the two-man race. In the process, he forged a powerful alliance between urban consumers, rural farmers and ranchers and labor groups that might reshape the future of Texas politics.

"I speak what's on people's minds," Hightower told *These Times* Saturday night after his victory. "There are very few politicians doing that today. I know how to talk to Texans. I appeal not just to the bean sprout eaters, but the snuff-dippers, too."

The Hightower-Brown battle for the relatively obscure agriculture commissioner post was from the beginning the most colorful of the statewide races. Brown, who was appointed agriculture commissioner by former governor Dolph Briscoe in 1977, relied on a network of Texas A&M alumni, agricultural extension agents and the organization built by Briscoe. A hardy backslapping public official known for his cornpone humor and his unabashedly patriotic speeches—more than 7,000 of them in his public career—Brown attacked Hightower as an unqualified radical shopping around for public office. (In 1979, in his first elective bid, Hightower narrowly lost a race for the Texas Railroad Commission, the state board that regulates the oil and gas industries.)

Brown claimed Hightower's campaign was receiving out of state financing from liberals, communists and "socialistic punks out East." In San Antonio, he said the Viet Cong had infiltrated his opponent's campaign. "We beat the Medfly," he said, "and we're gonna beat the gadfly."

Hightower, who started his political career as an aide to former Sen. Ralph Yarborough (D-Texas) and later directed Fred Harris' unsuccessful 1976 presidential campaign, portrayed Brown as an inept, bumbling commissioner with ties to corporate interests. Brown, he charged, had done little to help the state's struggling farm families. "There is a lot more to being agriculture commissioner than putting a straw in your mouth and humming 'thank god, I'm a country boy,'" he said.

A slight, unimposing man who looked even smaller beneath the big white western hat he sported on the campaign trail, Hightower is brash, articulate and quick with the quip. When Brown labeled the two books Hightower has written—*Hard Tomatoes, Hard Times* and *Eat Your Heart Out*—attacks on the agriculture industry, Hightower suggested that the commissioner hire someone to read them to him so he would know what they are really about. "Brown's record," he said, "is as ugly as my face."

Calling himself an old-fashioned populist, Hightower campaigned on a platform of uniting consumers, family farmers and small business owners in a crusade to cut the spiraling cost of food. He often brandished a loaf of bread as he spoke. "The family farm and ranching system of our state has just produced some of the biggest yields in our history, and their reward is to go broke," he said. "In the same three years that farm prices have plummeted by 36 percent, supermarket prices have come up by 28 percent. That's exciting arithmetic."

Entering the race as an underdog, Hightower, according to most polls, pulled even with the incumbent by February. Brown seemed snake bit—or, to be more exact, ant bit. As a publicity stunt a couple of weeks before the election, he stuck his hand into a fire-ant mound on the state capitol grounds and was bitten 32 times. (The fire-ant infestation is a campaign issue in Texas.) He also told a gathering of denim manufacturers that if everyone wore jeans you couldn't tell the "difference between a Texan and a Jew." And in a monumental slip of the tongue a few days before the election, a reference to Booker T. Washington in a speech to agriculture teachers came out "that great black nigger."

Hightower, who mused that he might quit campaigning and let Brown do it for

him, called the commissioner's misstatement "the verbal equivalent of stepping in a cow patty."

Although Brown was obviously hurt by his mistakes, they weren't what beat him. "I knew we were gonna get him about mid-March," Hightower said, "when we began to get the farm vote—not just little bitty farmers, but some mighty big farmers, almost Republican farmers."

He also got city votes, winning by margins of 3-to-1 in Dallas and Houston. In the South Texas cities of Corpus Christi and San Antonio, he took nearly two-thirds of the vote, and in the traditionally conservative West Texas cities of Lubbock and Big Spring, he captured 60 percent. Brown ran strongest in his native East Texas, but even there Hightower made inroads, winning about 63 percent of the vote, for example, in the East Texas city of Tyler.

Hightower still isn't the state's agriculture commissioner. In the November

general election his Republican opponent—for now—is Donald Hebert, a 50-year-old rice and soybean farmer. Hebert, who has never before sought public office, may withdraw from the race if Texas Republicans can find a better-known candidate to replace him.

The ploy is legal, but Hightower calls it a ready-made campaign issue. "People in Texas are going to resent that kind of trick," he says. "It really doesn't matter to me who it is. If they can get together in their little smoke-filled room and pick somebody, then turn him loose and we'll go at him."

If he becomes the state's agriculture commissioner, Hightower plans to build a more activist agency. "We've got a \$17 million budget," he says, "47 laws that effect price fixing and price gouging; we're going to actually begin to deliver the goods to some people."

More specifically, Hightower plans to help Texas small farmers market their produce overseas, and he wants to create a network of farmers' markets as a way of bypassing giant grocery chains and food processing companies. He also plans to lobby for lower interest rates for farmers.

Perhaps even more significant than what Jim Hightower can do for Texas agriculture is what he may be doing for grassroots politics in Texas. He has developed, he says, a "rainbow coalition—blacks, browns, white and yellow-dog Democrats." (Die-hard Democrats who would vote the ticket even if the party ran a yellow dog.)

This grassroots organization, he says, "is the best we have had in Texas in a long, long time." It will work, he says, "not just for this election," but will "carry on for the state of Texas." Hightower contends that in a state that four years ago elected its first Republican governor since Reconstruction, Democrats must nominate populist candidates with broad-based support if they expect to maintain their domination of Texas state government. "The Democrats have got to run on issues that people understand," he says. "I discuss the pocket-book issues of gouging and the big-money interests. These are things people understand."

On the Monday after his election, Hightower told reporters he did not see himself as some kind of leader of Texas liberals. "I am a populist," he said, "and that cuts across lines. I see myself as a leader of a populist coalition that I think will be very beneficial for the Democratic Party down the road."

Joe Holley is the co-editor of the *Texas Observer*.

## Primary roundup

Except for the emergence of Jim Hightower as a leader of Texas populists, the May 1 primary offered few discernable new philosophical patterns for the state. In the gubernatorial race, Democratic voters gave a commanding lead to Attorney General Mark White, a conservative, while Land Commissioner Bob Armstrong, generally considered the most liberal of the three candidates for governor, finished a disappointing third. Armstrong blamed underfinancing for his poor showing.

In the June 5 runoff, White faces 39-year-old Railroad Commissioner Buddy Temple. Heir to an East Texas timber-publishing empire (the Temples are Time, Inc. majority stockholders), Temple claims to have the money to go toe-to-toe with Republican incumbent Bill Clements. Clements, the tough-talking Dallas oilman who sneaked up on Texas Democrats four years ago, faced only token opposition from a man who spent part of his campaign in jail and in a mental hospital. The gov-

ernor spent \$7 million to get elected in 1978; he may spend \$9 million this time.

In the U.S. Senate race, incumbent Lloyd Bentsen, a Democrat, will face veteran Republican Congressman Jim Collins of Dallas. Collins, who handily defeated ultra-conservative State Sen. Walter "Mad Dog" Mengden in the Republican primary, charges that Bentsen is a free-spending liberal.

The turnouts were extremely low in both primaries—only 21 percent of the state's 6.6 million registered voters. Hispanic voters, however, lured by new voting districts and more Mexican-American candidates than ever before, went to the poles in significantly greater percentages than Texas voters as a whole.

Willy Velasquez, director of a San Antonio-based project that registers Hispanic voters in four Southwestern states, suggested that Hispanic votes were responsible for the success of Democratic attorney general candidate Jim Mattox and Democrat Garry Mauro, who made the runoff for land commissioner. Mattox won about 55 percent of the Mexican-American vote, while Mauro carried Hispanic boxes by about 60 percent. Hightower also carried Hispanic precincts by large margins.

—J.H.



## IN SHORT

## Mitterrand bombs in Denmark

France's Socialist president and Denmark's Social Democratic prime minister recently agreed to disagree on the "necessity" of having nuclear weapons—with the Socialist on the "yea" side. The occasion, reports Ron Ridenour, was the first visit to Denmark by a French president in 27 years. Though Francois Mitterrand wanted to concentrate on other issues, a radioactive cloud seemed to hang over the visiting leader wherever he spoke. On several stops, Mitterrand was greeted by antinuclear demonstrators. And while he was addressing the Danish parliament, four of its members walked past Mitterrand wearing white T-shirts emblazoned with a red, white and blue mushroom and the legend, "Socialism? Mururoa"—a reference to the Polynesian atoll where France tests nuclear weapons.

Mitterrand responded to the antinuclear protests by saying, "I can remember the time when I spoke against atomic weapons. But now I see no other ideological choice, in view of the superpowers' conflicts." On a more peaceful note, Mitterrand and Danish prime minister Anker Jorgensen agreed to cooperate on programs to combat unemployment. The French president also praised Denmark's high level of aid to third world countries—amounting to 0.73 percent of its GNP—and pledged that France would match that mark in the next five years. After three days of hashing over their countries' mutual interests, the two leaders separated to preside over May Day festivities—Mitterrand back in France, Jorgensen in Copenhagen.

## Train in vain

Over in Saskatchewan, Canada, members of the New Democratic Party (NDP) are still reeling from the party's recent electoral disaster. When Premier Allan Blakeney, a member of the social-democratic NDP, called an election with 18 months still remaining in his term, it was generally assumed that he would breeze to a victory. But with anti-government sentiment on the rise in western Canada, the rival Conservative Party was able to win a crushing majority.

The NDP, reports Collin Gribbons, seems to have erred in focusing its campaign on planned changes in statutory freight rates for grain hauled to port by train. It turned out that the Conservatives opposed the rate changes as strongly as the NDP did—and anyway, the electorate saw the issue as federal, not provincial. Another major factor was the drop in labor support for the NDP, a development that was tied to an NDP-imposed back-to-work law that ended a hospital workers' strike just before the election was called.

## Get me central blasting

Al Ruddy had a vision. He was all set to produce *Megaforce*, a light-hearted feature film about a bunch of superfighters who would go to the ends of the earth to fight for freedom. But before beginning production of the \$20 million flick, according to *Variety*, Ruddy made several trips to the Pentagon. His aim was to borrow fancy military equipment from the Department of Defense (DoD), giving *Megaforce* that authentic touch. At first, the producer recalls, the military folks rejected the idea. Sez *Variety*: "They said use of advanced equipment, and the showing of a fast-deployment force within the U.S. that could be sent to any part of the world to fight, would be 'counter-productive.'" Soon, however, DoD had a change of heart, and it loaned out a few war machines.

That was 18 months ago. Since then, the Pentagon has swung enthusiastically behind *Megaforce*. Now it plans to accompany the film's late-June opening with advanced-weaponry exhibits around the country. In many ways, Ruddy notes, the concept of an elite superforce echoes U.S. military planning for the near future. Indeed, Army Col. Jim Shannon, a professional "futurist," will visit Los Angeles in May for a screening of *Megaforce*.

According to an "In Short" source, Francis Ford Coppola couldn't squeeze a bullet out of the DoD when he was rounding up arms for the *Apocalypse Now* set. Maybe it had to do with his choice of subject matter.

## An unhealthy environment

- Unemployment is making people sick. That, reports the *San Jose Mercury* (via PNS Radio), is what federal researchers are saying. They point to recent studies in Michigan and Maryland showing that the jobless are more likely to succumb to alcoholism and high blood pressure, among other stress-related conditions. Skyrocketing unemployment is also taking its toll on the children of the out-of-work: A North Carolina study concludes that they're more likely to develop severe infectious diseases and to become victims of child abuse.

- Sick is a word that certainly applied to Interior Secretary James Watt following a recent trip to New York City. Watt was reportedly so overcome by air pollution that he was unable to work on the flight back to Washington. "It was like breathing dirt," explained Watt's press secretary. "He felt so miserable he couldn't talk." Hmm.

—Josh Kornbluth



About 500 protesters marched to the site of Sohio's annual shareholders' meeting.

## Ohio demonstrators put the heat on oil company

CLEVELAND—The April 22 annual shareholders' meeting of the Standard Oil Company of Ohio (Sohio) hadn't lasted much longer than five minutes. But at that point, company chairman Alton J. Whitehouse Jr. and his fellow board members called it a day. They could no longer put up with the presence of about 100 members of Neighborhood People in Action (NPIA), armed with proxy votes, who had been chanting, "Stop big oil!"

Earlier, about 500 members of NPIA, a national coalition of neighborhood and senior citizens' groups, had marched through downtown Cleveland to Stouffer's Inn on the Square, where the meeting was to be held. Those who could not get proxies jammed the lobby outside Stouffer's Gold Room, chanting and singing, "Amazing greed, it rules the world," while well-heeled shareholders picked their way through to the entrance.

The action was part of a seven-month statewide campaign to pressure Sohio into taking more responsibility for helping Ohioans meet their energy needs. Under the slogan "freeze Sohio, not Ohio," the groups have made two major demands. The first is that Sohio oppose deregulation of natural gas, rather than lobbying to speed it up. The second: that the company set up a \$1 billion fund for energy assistance and home weatherization to replace Ohio's \$96 million Home Energy Assistance Program, which was supported by dwindling windfall profit taxes.

Diane Reynolds, a member of the local St. Clair-Superior Coalition, points out that the groups are merely following President Reagan's directive to turn to the private sector to replace funds cut from human services and economic assistance programs. The 250,000 allocation that Sohio recently granted for weatherization assistance is, she feels, "a drop in the bucket."

Sohio was, as these corporations go, a smallish refiner and marketer of oil and natural gas when British Petroleum bought 53 percent of its stock in 1970. Since then, it has grown 20-fold, acquiring 25 percent of the oil and gas reserves (worth \$15 billion) at Prudhoe Bay, Alaska,

and moving up from 17th to sixth largest energy producer in the U.S.

Since Reagan took office, Sohio's windfall profit taxes have declined by \$181.2 million—more than 47 percent—and its combined federal, state and foreign income taxes have dropped almost \$225 million, or 38 percent. But gas bills are going in the other direction, and, as de-regulation progresses, could be 100 to 200 percent higher by 1985. (In a 1980 interview with *Business Week*, Sohio chairman Whitehouse confessed that the company literally had more money than it knew what to do with.)

Last fall, NPIA got Sohio to begin negotiating with religious leaders and community representatives. But in December Whitehouse walked out of a meeting after learning that the neighborhood groups had notified the media. NPIA then returned to direct action, which they plan to continue until Whitehouse agrees to resume meeting with them.

—Deborah Van Kleef

## He'd bury the nuclear issue

BERKELEY, CA—Barely 40 years old, well-built and dressed in jeans and open sport shirt, William Shuler doesn't look like Dr. Strangelove. But in fact he enjoys the old Peter Sellers role. Shuler is associate director for military applications at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory (LLL), and what he does is design nuclear warheads. He directed both the MX missile and the advanced ballistic re-entry vehicle warhead projects and currently serves on the president's Science Advisory Board. This month Shuler appeared at the University of California to oppose the nuclear weapons freeze initiative in California, which has generated more than 700,000 signatures in a four-month campaign.

Shuler's major concern is verification of any halt in warhead production—he said you can make one now that fits in a suitcase—and the proposed ban on development of new weapons delivery systems. "The Russians



Five minutes of chanting was all Sohio's brass could take.

will be able to find and destroy our nuclear submarines within the next decade," he said.

But the most intriguing comments Shuler made had to do with the present work of the Livermore labs, and his own proposals for a nuclear stalemate. He said the current work at LLL stresses safety measures for handling and storing existing warheads and "command and control" systems. Nuclear mishaps in recent years—from bombs accidentally dropped from planes to lost warheads—have needlessly frightened the public, he said, and exposed the military to ridicule.

Shuler's own solution to the costly and dangerous proliferation of nuclear weapons could have been scripted by Stanley Kubrick. He proposes sinking booster rockets into holes bored 3,000 to 5,000 feet into the earth, where they would be invulnerable to nuclear attack. The present 9,000 U.S. warheads could be reduced to a mere 100, with no loss in security and at great savings to the taxpayers. Whether these missiles would then be connected by a giant network of computers, and called a "Doomsday Machine," Shuler failed to say. But some 400 open-minded U.C. students gave his presentation polite applause.

—Thomas Brom

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Mary Beth Camp



## DEPORTATION

## INS' job-creating tactic is arresting

By Paul Glickman

OAKLAND, CA

**I**N THE LAST WEEK OF APRIL, 400 Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents swooped down on nine metropolitan areas around the country, arresting thousands of undocumented immigrant workers as part of "Operation Jobs." The raids—which took place in Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Houston, Dallas, Detroit, Denver, New York and New Jersey—recalled "the Mexican Repatriation" of the Great Depression. Between 1931 and 1937, federal and local officials deported 400,000 Mexicans living in the U.S.

As unemployment nears nine million in the recession of 1982, the Reagan administration has resorted to a similar tactic.

But according to INS district director for San Francisco David Ilchert, the intent of Operation Jobs was not to round up thousands of the estimated 7.5 million undocumented workers indiscriminately. "We're striving to locate illegal aliens in high paying jobs—the jobs U.S. citizens would be agreeable to hold."

The idea was to open up only those jobs that American workers would be willing to do. "We were trying to be selective," he said. INS director of enforcement Joseph Salgado elaborated on this point by saying, "We're not after bushboys and janitors."

By week's end 5,000 people had been rounded up, and INS officials in Washington were cautiously optimistic, saying Operation Jobs was "apparently a success." Acknowledging the operation's symbolic nature, one INS official explained, "We wanted to send a message."

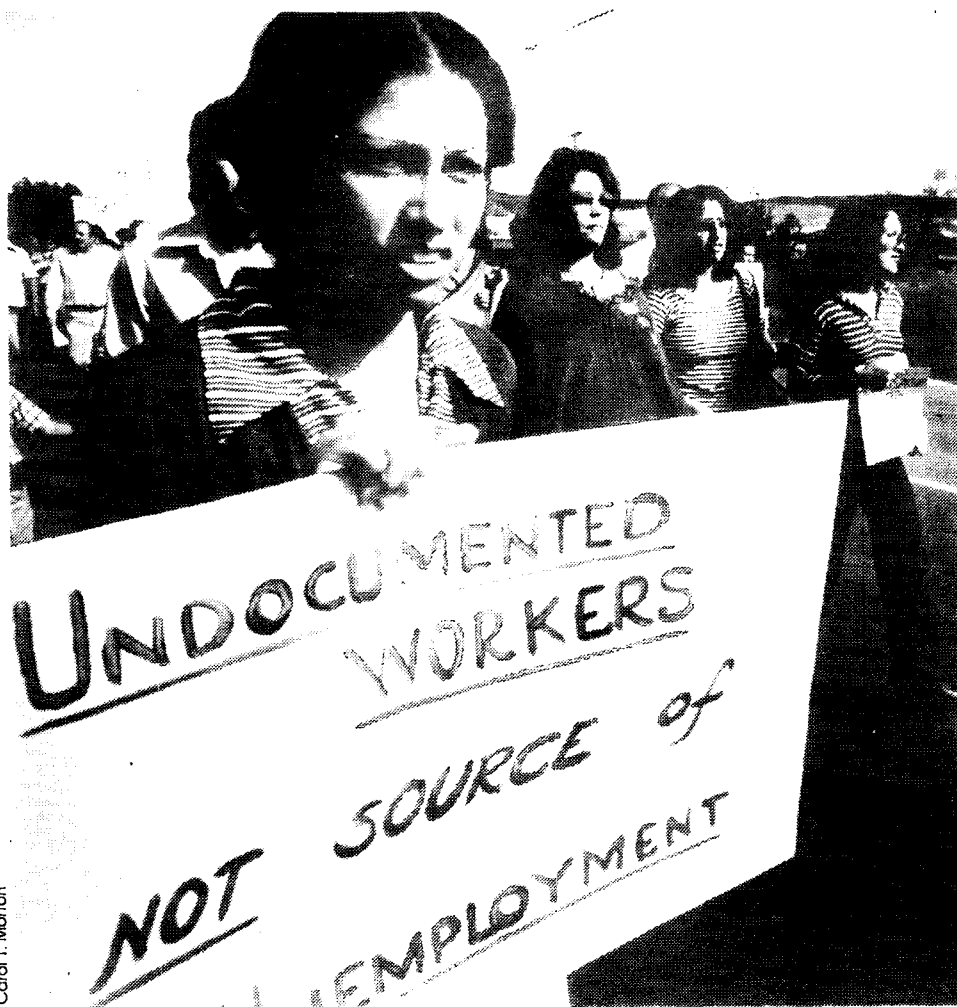
While immigration officials praised the

## U.S. officials say they're raiders of the lost jobs.

creation of "attractive, high paying jobs" for lawful residents, Operation Jobs aroused a storm of protest from religious, labor and civil rights groups across the country. Many complained that the raids created a climate of fear in minority communities. Mark Van Der Hout of the National Lawyers Guild in San Francisco said, "INS agents have been stopping people at random on the street, which is completely illegal. The community is terrorized."

Another complaint heard in cities was that undocumented workers were denied access to legal counsel and were pressured into signing "voluntary" deportation papers. In Los Angeles, a federal judge granted a temporary ban on the deportation of 150 Mexicans picked up in the raids. Lawyers for the detainees had testified that INS agents told some of the Mexicans that a lawyer would cost them \$4,000, and that "their fingers would be broken if they refused to provide their fingerprints."

Operation Jobs also touched a nerve in Mexico. Many newspapers and politicians strongly denounced the project. Tulio Cuevas, secretary-general of the 27-million-member Inter-American Regional Workers Organization, sent a protest note to President Reagan. Cuevas argued that Operation Jobs violated multinational agreements on migratory workers' rights. According to Cuevas, the International Labor Organization agreement the U.S. signed stipulates that "an undocumented worker cannot be treated like an anti-social being simply because he is not legally established in the country. On the contrary, this worker should be treated like anyone else who



works in the U.S., and his status should be legalized."

For the purposes of Operation Jobs, the INS defined a well-paying job as anything paying the minimum wage or better. "This is really a sham," argued Francine Grace Plaza of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund in San Francisco. "The people being picked up generally make between \$3.35 and \$5 an hour. Those aren't high-paying jobs," she said.

In San Francisco, the average wage of those arrested was around \$5 an hour. A few undocumented workers were apprehended while working at jobs paying \$7 or \$8 an hour. INS director Ilchert said he believed these cases proved that Operation Jobs was performing an important public service.

But Juan Gutierrez of General Workers Union Local 301 in Los Angeles disagreed. "The overwhelming majority of undocumented workers don't hold these kinds of jobs," he said. Gutierrez felt Operation Jobs created the impression that "undocumented people hold well-paying jobs and are responsible for unemployment." He argued that the main goal of Operation Jobs was to divert people's attention from the root causes of the current recession.

The manner in which the raids were carried out also generated controversy. The owner of a potato packing plant in

but they just laughed at me and said, 'You're going home. You're a wetback, and you're going home.'"

At least 90 percent of those picked up in the raids were Hispanic, and critics pointed to this as proof of the INS' discriminatory attitude. The high proportion of Hispanics arrested in the raids conflicts with the findings of a recent presidential commission, which estimated that Hispanics constitute only about half of the country's total undocumented population.

Van Der Hout pointed to the historical role played by the U.S. in relieving the pressures of Mexico's economic woes. Allowing large numbers of Mexicans to enter the U.S. illegally "has been a tacit policy for years," he explained. "There would be tremendous unemployment in Mexico if people couldn't come here. To relieve the situation, the U.S. acts as a safety valve."

Operation Jobs fueled resentment of Hispanic workers among other minorities. In Oakland, unemployed blacks told TV reporters that they were glad the raids had been conducted because they now had a shot at a job. Van Der Hout said that it's a "common trend historically for the government to pit one minority group against another."

Many people believe Operation Jobs was timed to give a boost to federal immigration legislation since the crackdown came just as Congress began hearings on the Simpson-Mazoli bill. As with most other immigration reform legislation, this bill would impose penalties on businesses that hire undocumented workers.

*Paul Glickman is an Oakland-based freelance journalist who works for KPFA radio in Berkeley.*

New York accused INS agents of breaking into his business "like Jesse James, scaring people half to death." In addition, many legal U.S. citizens were arrested in the raids simply because they were Hispanic: A naturalized citizen in Colorado was picked up in a raid on a nightclub. She said afterward, "I kept telling them, 'I'm an American citizen,'

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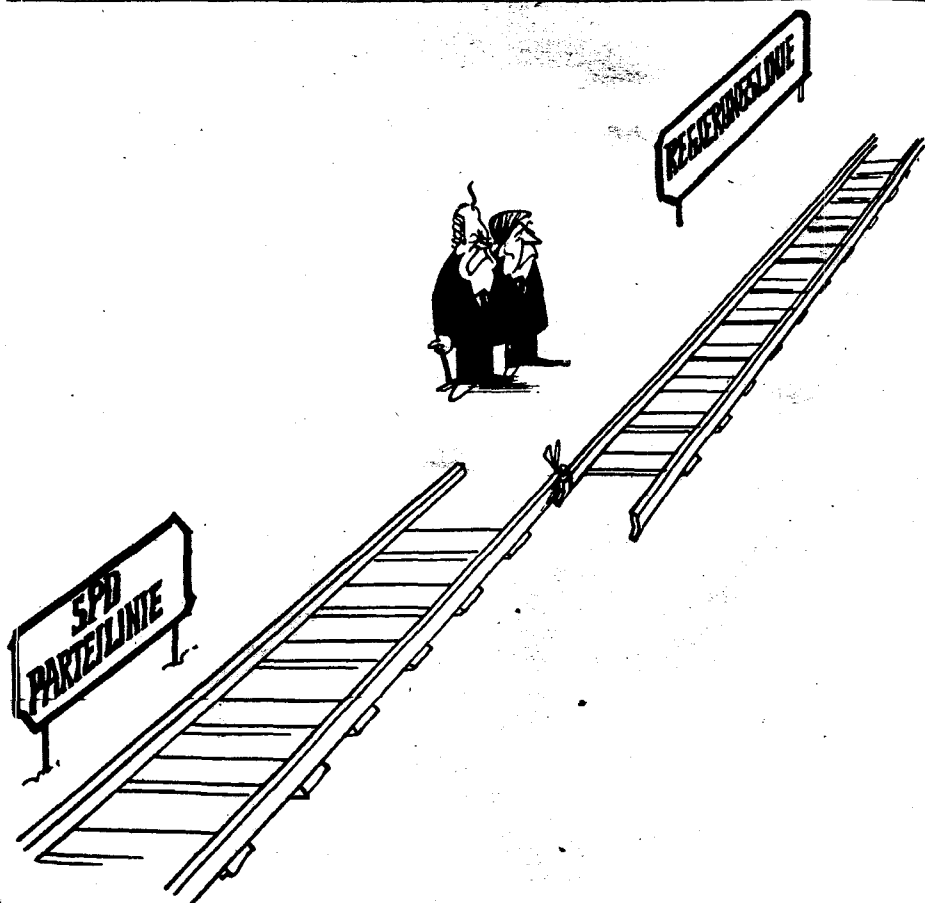
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## WEST GERMANY



The SPD line and the government line are on different tracks.

## A gloomy time for Social Democrats

By Diana Johnstone

MUNICH

**A**T A PEACE DEMONSTRATION on the eve of the West German Social Democratic Party (SPD) congress in Munich last month, the daughter of the SPD's only postwar president of the republic, theologian Uta Ranke-Heinemann, declared that "the SPD has been deprived in the beds and armchairs of power."

Few of the 400 delegates gathered in the vast Olympic stadium for the SPD congress seemed to draw much consolation from the thought that the party's imminent fall from power might restore its virtue. Because those most concerned about its soul—or its identity, its principles, its program—are deeply pessimistic about what a return to right-wing rule may do to German society, the SPD itself and even the world.

A record crowd of journalists flocked to the five-day meeting to watch the organized German left tear itself apart before sinking. The debates were often intense but never fratricidal. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's acknowledged status as lesser evil, and not the persuasive power of his arguments, was his crucial asset in confronting his left opposition in the party, notably the peace-movement wing.

The SPD has been slipping drastically in regional elections and in public opinion polls, and hardly anyone thinks it can last in the Bonn government until the next scheduled parliamentary elections in 1984. Even its small partner, the Free Democratic Party—in whose favor the SPD must remain—has the power to change at any moment the color of the majority by switching its favor to the Christian Democrats. Observers expect this will happen soon, either after the SPD loses the Hesse elections next September, or else in a liberal-social democratic dispute over the budget next winter.

Perhaps all that has kept foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's liberals from switching is the thought that they could scarcely control a coalition with the Christian Democrats as effectively as they have controlled this one. Since becoming chancellor in 1974, Schmidt has persistently pursued liberal policies. He again reminded the Munich congress

that whatever it decided to recommend, he would continue to do as he saw fit.

### 1,000 resolutions.

Nevertheless, the delegates diligently studied, debated and voted on more than 1,000 resolutions, most of them printed up beforehand in a hefty 700-page volume. More than a third of them dealt with "peace and security," including the controversial plan to station Pershing 2 and Cruise nuclear missiles in West Germany. The previous SPD congress in Berlin in December 1979 had given grudging consent to the NATO plan in the form of a "double decision" that coupled deployment plans with U.S.-Soviet negotiations to cut back medium range nuclear weapons in Europe. The intent was that the deployment plan would put pressure on the great powers to negotiate, and that the negotiations would produce an agreement not to deploy the missiles.

This time, a good-sized minority of the SPD, fearing the Reagan administration does not want to negotiate any halt in the arms race, wanted to rescind the double decision altogether, or at least call a moratorium on missile deployment (and concrete preparations for deployment) while negotiations are going on. The party leadership managed to beat back these proposals by arguing that maintaining the threat to deploy the mis-

Heidemarie Wiczorek-Zeul (right) says the men in the party have shown "very little imagination" on women's rights.



siles was the best way to keep pressure on both sides at the Geneva negotiations. The final decision was postponed until the next SPD congress in fall of 1983.

Growing unemployment was the main domestic concern of the congress, which overwhelmingly approved a project to finance job-creating investment by a special tax on high incomes. This was considered necessary to assuage the German Labor Confederation (DGB) and give the party some sense of its political identity to carry into forthcoming election campaigns. But Schmidt and the liberals immediately made it clear that the government would have nothing to do with such a program. So far, taxpayers outnumber the unemployed and are certainly far more influential.

In the energy debate, a proposal to suspend construction of nuclear power plants was defeated more easily than at the last congress, perhaps because of the growth of the Green Party as a rival pole for critics of nuclear power. Erhard Eppler, who is also the party's leading critic of the NATO missiles, argued that current nuclear power plant construction plans will produce surplus energy, beyond projected consumption needs, while contributing to unemployment in the coal-producing Ruhr and Saarland. But this was undercut by DGB spokesmen who came out for both nuclear energy and coal development, stressing that German industry should use German energy sources and domestic rather than imported coal.

In general, the resolutions on peace and security, north-south relations and economic problems reflected a high level of consciousness of the inter-relationships between the arms race, resource shortages, poverty in the third world, unemployment in the advanced countries, violations of human rights and the dangers of war and nuclear annihilation. Yet the trend in the West seems to favor political forces that refuse to acknowledge these inter-relationships.

If the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and its more reactionary Bavarian partner, Franz Josef Strauss' Christian Social Union (CSU), are riding high, it is not because they have solutions to basic problems. Their policies would be more in line with the approach the Reagan administration is forcing on the world through high interest rates and the arms race. Strauss is thick as thieves with the Reagan people, reminding them of his enthusiasm for military hardware. A right-wing government in Bonn would be free of Social Democratic inhibitions about selling arms to Saudi Arabia or to Chile, and could launch Germany wholeheartedly into the arms export business.

### To a large extent, the SPD's fate is tied to political trends in the U.S.

Although few German Social Democrats care to acknowledge this, their political fortunes depend to a great degree on what happens in the U.S. A rapid Democratic Party comeback might even save the SPD—but that seems too much to hope for.

Heidemarie Wiczorek-Zeul, one of only 47 women among the 400 delegates, acknowledged that the much-criticized Carter administration had given the German left a certain breathing space with its human rights policy. She is from South Hesse and feels fairly helpless before the prospect of her party's probable defeat there next fall. "I'm not in favor of going into the opposition," she told *In These Times*, "but I don't see how we can govern with any semblance of social democratic policy if we lose the elections in South Hesse."

In many ways, she and most of the party believe they are in the opposition already. "Schmidt really agrees with the Liberals on most issues," she said. A former Young Socialist leader, Heidemarie is now a member of the European parliament. "Some things would be possible in the European parliament," she said. "The French made a proposal for European recovery that we could support. It is really a very progressive and sensible approach that is also very European, astonishingly enough. It calls for creation of a European 'social space' including an agreement between governments, trade unions and employers on reducing work time by a certain amount. They also suggested an integrated industrial policy, with priorities on which industries to promote, community credit instruments to facilitate a common policy toward developing countries, additional cooperation in the energy field and so on. But no one has really responded."

### Declining membership.

The SPD is losing members—over 3 percent last year. Young people in particular are turning toward the Greens, the peace movement or private concerns. The SPD is accused of being old-fashioned and lacking ideas. But what was striking at the April congress was not the lack of ideas but the party's inability to translate ideas into political reality. This blockage is the real crisis of mass parties like the SPD, instruments that were originally designed to change society but now seem to be unable to get a firm grip on anything.

Although there were even fewer women at this congress than at the last, Heidemarie claimed their impact in the discussion had grown significantly. SPD women are active in the peace movement, and are trying to provide a link between the women's movement and labor—which has been dominated by skilled male workers. The link is much weaker than in Britain or Italy, she said, and for this reason the German women's movement is moving toward radical feminism.

The party proposals to assure women's rights in such matters as equality of professional and vocational training were the work of the party's women, she said, while the men had shown "very little imagination" on the subject. Still, Heidemarie saw a complete change over the last 10 years. "Women used to be the decoration of the party, and that's how they reacted. Now they simply refuse to play that role."

Chairman Willy Brandt's policy has been to try to "integrate" the new movements, notably the peace movement, into the SPD. He has not been notably successful, but cynical observers would say that this attempt accounts for the apparent loosening up of democratic debate.

Yet despite the obvious manipulation by the leadership, despite the prevailing discouragement, the congress was the most democratic I have seen in Europe, and the debates were of the highest quality.

Heidemarie, among others, was pleasantly surprised. "I always used to criticize SPD authoritarianism," she said. "But now I'm coming to the conclusion that the northern European social democratic parties are becoming more democratic just as the southern European socialist parties are becoming less so—notably the Italian Socialist Party."



## SOUTH AMERICA

# Argentina is spoiling Brazil's big plans

By J.H. Evans and Jack Epstein

RIO DE JANEIRO

**A**RGENTINA'S MISCALCULATION in tussling with Britain over the Falkland Islands goes far beyond the loss of ships and planes and men. The tenuous facade of hemispheric solidarity was given only thin support by the Organization of American States' (OAS) resolution favoring Argentine claims of sovereignty, and Brazil's efforts to secure its role of emerging power broker on the continent is potentially being undermined. Its carefully laid plan for a regional economic community, in the wake of a power shift away from Argentina, is being seriously threatened and is the reason for its waffling attitude toward taking sides in the Falklands conflict.

The OAS, rather than chastising Britain, called for restraint in resolving the dispute, falling short of what Argentine leader Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri's regime had hoped for. On top of that, the Latin American nations that have independently declared themselves for Argentina all have special interests to consider, contrary to superficial avowals of principle. Guatemala has its own dispute with Britain over Belize; Nicaragua is seemingly attempting to further undermine reported U.S. use of Argentine insurgents to destabilize the Sandinistas; Venezuela has a longstanding dispute with Guyana, once a British colony; Peru has a territorial claim against Chile, Argentina's adversary neighbor, as well as with Ecuador; and Brazil's symbolic support is in a class by itself.

Whether U.S. aid to Britain will rupture ties between the two continents remains to be seen. A lively debate is emerging as to the consequences of the U.S. "tilt." Yet despite initial anger in South American capitals, genuine damage remains hard to predict. Part of this nebulous reaction is based on a grudging acceptance of U.S. strength, while a more profound cause is bound up in the psychological attitude Latines have toward Argentines. In many ways they are disliked as much as the "yanquis." Considered arrogant, cold and generally hard to deal with, many South Americans would privately not be unduly upset to see Argentina humbled.

But to the chagrin of the international banking community that has billions of dollars in loans at stake and to Argentina's trading partners, such a defeat suggests disturbing repercussions. That especially applies to Brazil, which finds itself pressured from both ends and sees its carefully constructed financial dreams being jeopardized.

## Shift of power.

In the last five years the little-noticed shift of power from Argentina to Brazil has forced a realignment of economic priorities among the southern cone countries of South America. Brazil has been quietly employing its new stature to develop a cooperative trading bloc—which depends upon a stable Argentina—with its neighbors. This plan is imperiled by the current war between Argentina and Britain.

Argentina had traditionally been the dominant political, economic and cultural force in the region, but by the time the military toppled dictator Juan Peron's widow, Isabel, in a 1976 coup, the effects of three decades of Peron's fascist welfare theories—depleted treasury, high inflation, domestic political violence—had diminished its influence. The generals quickly decided to dismantle the state-oriented economy and replace it with a free-market system. They promised to control inflation, cut the state sector and open up commerce to international competition.

Yet the military had no better luck than its predecessors in solving Argentina's myriad troubles. There has been triple-digit inflation for the past seven years, industry is operating at half capacity and the foreign debt has reached \$32 billion. According to the Central Bank, the economic growth rate last year was between -5 and -6.2 percent—the worst in Latin America.

Over the years Argentine planners looked for ways to avoid the monetary debacle the nation now confronts. In the late '60s and early '70s, Argentina placed its hopes on negotiating with Brazil and Paraguay for a piece of the world's largest hydroelectric project, Itaipu, located

For Brazil, Itaipu guarantees the continued development of its southern zone—already the most highly industrialized region in Latin America—and will significantly lessen its dependence upon crippling oil imports.

## Brazil and Argentina cooperate.

But this knowledge forced Brazil to reevaluate its foreign policy, specifically its attitude toward Argentina. When Itaipu's meaning became apparent five years ago, Brazil reversed its historical rivalry with its southern neighbor and opted instead for a policy of cooperation.

Brazilian planners decided that they were too dependent upon the U.S. and

electric projects with Paraguay, located down river from Itaipu. The primary dam facility, Yacyreta, which was agreed upon in the wake of Argentina being eliminated from Itaipu, was scheduled to begin construction last year with the first stage to produce 2,700 megawatts by 1985.

But Argentina's monetary crises has delayed the start of construction until 1984 at the earliest, and there are reports that planning officials want to renegotiate the terms of the partnership. Apparently, they are convinced that the present contract unfairly favors Paraguay. Its other joint project, Corpus dam, just above Yacyreta, has yet to receive a starting date.



*Rather than chastising Britain in the Falklands conflict, the Organization of the American States called for restraint in resolving it—falling short of what Argentine leader Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri's (above) regime had hoped for.*

on their Parana River border, which will extend Brazil's installed electrical capacity by 75 percent and solidify its position as the region's new industrial giant.

Although Brazil's economic strength had been steadily expanding since the early '60s, the actual power shift occurred when Argentina lost its bid for part of the action in Itaipu, leaving its Portuguese-speaking competitor with effective financial control of the project. Because it was bankrolling the entire operation, Brazil insisted on having first option at a favorable price on all of Paraguay's excess electricity. Since only one of the 18 turbines will provide for Paraguay's energy needs into the next century, the deal catapulted Brazil into the role of the major South American power.

The dam's dimensions are awesome. The first three turbines that go on line in 1983 will have the same capacity as Aswan, and the lake that will result will be 125 miles long and five miles wide. Final capacity will be 12.6 million kilowatts; the largest in the U.S. is the Grand Coulee with 9.7 million kilowatts.

Paraguay has received the most immediate rewards, leading the region in growth for the seventh consecutive year and becoming Latin America's fastest growing economy with 10 percent in 1981. When the facility is completed, the small land-locked country will become the world's largest exporter of electricity.

Europe as trading partners and financial backers, and realized that they needed to enlarge their economic activity within their own continent. Only 15 percent of Brazil's export trade is with South America. For both political and economic reasons, Brazil focused upon the Upper Plate River basin—shared with Paraguay, Uruguay and Argentina—as prime for regional stabilization and development.

Another important element in Brazil's thinking was a fear of increasing Soviet ties to Argentina, as evidenced by the recent large wheat and beef deals between the two countries. Brazilian military authorities saw this as a threat to the region's interests and felt that offering Argentina a stake in the area's development would lessen Soviet influence.

Argentina, reluctant to acquiesce to the inherent loss of power and deeply suspicious of Brazil's motives, initially resisted the overtures, but relented out of economic necessity in fall 1980 by agreeing to form a coordinated energy grid, which included Paraguay and Uruguay. The signing followed a state visit to Buenos Aires by President Joao Figueiredo, the first Brazilian leader to visit Argentina in 40 years. The agreement also implied recognition of Brazil's new authority.

Part of Argentina's stubbornness stemmed from having two of its own hydro-

Finally, just last year, Argentina received written guarantees from Brazil that it would not restrict the flow of water from Itaipu into projected lower dams. This had been a sore point among Argentine authorities and one that had prevented full cooperation with the Brazilian regional plan.

Now under the cloud of the Falklands armed conflict and stepped-up Soviet aid to Argentina, the ability of the Argentine military government and its beleaguered economy to hold up its end of the southern cone development scheme is thrown into serious doubt.

At the same time Brazil has been forced to walk a diplomatic tightrope in an effort not to alienate Britain and its banks, while also offering some material support to its would-be partner—just in case Argentina wins—and appearing to display a degree of Latin American solidarity. That support, however, has been commercially symbolic rather than ideological, in large part because Brazilian planners, according to this city's influential newspaper *Jornal do Brasil*, consider the Argentine invasion of Britain's colony to have been a strategic and military blunder with potentially disastrous consequences for the region's economic and political future.

J.H. Evans and Jack Epstein are San Francisco-based journalists who specialize in Latin American affairs.



By W. Charles  
Spear

**I**DAHO GOV. JOHN EVANS called the shutdown of the Bunker Hill Company, Idaho's second largest private employer, "the worst economic disaster in the state's history." Ninety-four percent of Bunker Hill workers in Kellogg, Idaho, support families. Many are trained only in specialized skills that cannot be used elsewhere, and most will find job-hunting fruitless in northern Idaho's already-depressed economy.

With 2,000 employees of the lead, zinc and silver mining and smelting complex out of work, unemployment is already at 40 percent in Kellogg and 30 percent in Shoshone County. And local government officials say it will take at least a year for the full effects to hit. Meanwhile, parent corporation Gulf Resources and Chemical Co. seems anxious to dismantle and sell parts of the facility—and to demolish the rest.

Gulf points the finger at environmentalists, labor and "continuing depressed lead, zinc and silver prices." But Bunker Hill assistant treasurer Lloyd E. Kearn was blunt: The Kellogg plant was "less profitable than other divisions of the parent company. The board decided to apply its resources elsewhere in order to maximize return."

Gulf made 9.3 cents on its investment dollar at Bunker Hill in 1980 (a good year), while its oil and gas operations made 30 percent and its coal and lithium business made 19 percent.

Gulf Resources has been taking Bunker Hill's profits and investing them in higher-yielding subsidiaries. In 1980 Bunker Hill generated 66 percent of Gulf's \$47.6 million operating profits, but received only 15 percent of the corporation's total additions to property, plant and equipment. Employees and industry experts say the corporation has let the smelter fall behind in maintenance, efficiency and modernization.

But low returns alone don't explain the shutdown. "There's no question that Bunker Hill could have been run profitably," State Sen. Vernon Lannen, a Bunker Hill employee, said. "If it had stayed a locally-owned company, it would still be operating today."

There's a better explanation—hard times for the world mining oligopoly are good times for attacking organized labor, tightening the silver supply, pushing for weaker environmental regulations and moving operations to regimes where social responsibility is not a constraint.

### Assault on labor.

Gulf announced the shutdown last August after it failed to wrestle a 20 percent contract "giveback" from the company's seven unions. The message was clear—any hopes the workers had of keeping their jobs would depend on sacrifices in bargaining power, wages, benefits and working conditions.

In December a group of local mining, real estate, publishing and retail entrepreneurs signed an option agreement to buy Bunker Hill. But on January 13 the group presented the unions with a contract proposal and refused to negotiate it. Their demands ranged from a 25 percent cut in pay and benefits to a weakening of seniority rules.

Kenneth Flatt, president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 7854, said they asked for "unconditional surrender." "Their proposal would deprive the individual of virtually all rights which he has under the present agreement and would deny the union the ability to protect those few rights which remain." The union leaders turned down the proposal. The membership voted 695-506 to accept it, but the union labeled the vote "advisory."

The investors gave up their option.



Gulf blamed unions and environmentalists for shutdown of the Bunker Hill smelter (above).

# Shafted

Robert Petris, regional Steelworkers director, believes the option might have succeeded if Gulf, the "real stumbling block," had not put "false deadlines" on the group's purchase effort.

But it was the unions who took the heat. Angry USWA local members held a new election of officers. The papers reported a "bitter" public reaction. The new officers, failing to receive approval from USWA, tried to revoke the local's charter. A local judge reprimanded the unions. Two hundred workers hit USWA with a class action suit. Attorneys filed complaints with the National Labor Relations Board. And Idaho house speaker Ralph Olmstead called for a right-to-work law.

Workers' hopes rekindled in March when Expo Oil Co. of Australia reached an agreement with the unions in preparation for another purchase attempt.

But that also fell through and, again, it was open season on union leadership. "A poor labor agreement shot [Expo] down," claimed Duane Hagadone, a leader of the first purchase group. "The unions used [Expo] in an attempt to save face."

Gulf's 1981 annual report lamented, "The profit-making potential of the mines and smelters has been irreversibly transferred from Bunker Hill to labor and suppliers."

But when employees offered an obvious solution to that problem—an employee stock ownership plan (ESOP)—Gulf turned a deaf ear. A Kellogg reporter discovered that more than two million Americans participate in ESOP's, and that the plan would make Bunker Hill eligible for huge tax breaks: The unions proposed to buy 38.33 percent interest in

the company and offered to take a 15 percent wage cut. Gulf dismissed the plan—"the financial arrangements were not feasible."

Gulf Resources' biggest shareholder is Placid Oil Co., owned by Nelson Bunker Hunt and William Herbert Hunt. *Newsweek* claimed in 1980 that the Hunts reigned over "the biggest privately-held fortune in the country," around \$5 billion. Part of that fortune is 60 million ounces of silver and silver futures, left over from a multi-billion-dollar binge of speculation that ended in the collapse of the silver market in early 1980.

Gulf management has its own interest in controlling silver supplies. Several of the directors are on the boards of other mining corporations. Gulf has played this game before. It told its stockholders of "deliberate reductions" in coal production in 1979 and 1980 "as a result of soft markets." Bunker Hill produced 25 percent of U.S. primary refined silver in 1980.

Local newspapers regularly carry diatribes by mining magnates and politicians who point to Bunker Hill as a lesson in the dangers of environmental regulation. In fact, between 1968 and 1977, in the toughest period of regulation in its history, Bunker Hill pulled in \$1.8 billion in revenue and spent only \$21.2 million to control pollutants. And tax breaks eased even that burden.

Still, Idaho's lawmakers rally to the call. McClure asked for a moratorium on regulations that might affect the smelter. The Task Force boasted that EPA was under "intense pressure" from the administration to avoid scaring off potential Bunker Hill buyers. In the end,

the company won delays of new controls on sulfur dioxide, lead emissions, airborne particulates and waste water.

Until the mid-'70s, the South Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River was better known as "Lead Creek," a name inspired by its opaque gray hue. Half a century of acid rain has left the hillsides around Kellogg barren, in stark contrast to the thick evergreens and shrubs that cover the rest of northern Idaho. And a 1973 study by the U.S. Center for Disease Control found that 170 out of 172 children living within a mile of the Bunker Hill smelter had levels of lead in their blood higher than those it considered safe.

### Over there.

World Bank economists Rex Bosson and Bension Varon describe the world mining industry as a vertically integrated oligopoly. "Four firms," they assert, "account for 40 percent of the world's primary refined lead production, eight for 60 percent and 20 for 85 percent."

Several of Gulf Resources' stockholders and directors are involved in foreign enterprises. And Gulf's 1980 report to stockholders boasted of exploration projects in Colombia and the Atacama desert of Chile.

Back at Bunker Hill, a Gulf spokesman has told *The Kellogg Evening News*, "We have no choice now. We're proceeding with plant demolition."

As local schoolteacher Stan Kvern sees it, "Gulf came in for a one-night stand and left before we were awake." ■ *W. Charles Spear, a former reporter for The Kellogg Evening News, is now a Seattle freelance journalist.*



By Bob  
McCarthy

**W**HEN THE ANACONDA Copper Company shut down the Berkeley open pit copper mine—one of the world's largest—in Butte, Mont., on April 24, it confirmed a longstanding rumor. In 1980 the firm had shut down, among others, its copper smelter in the town of Anaconda, virtually shutting down the 10,000 population town as well. Many then wondered if Butte would be next—indeed, if the multinational firm might be getting out of copper altogether.

As late as 1959 Anaconda openly controlled many of Montana's newspapers and lawmakers. Company newspapers suggested that authorities "give strikers a diet of lead," while politicians gave "The Company" anything it wanted, including the right of eminent domain.

Anaconda's reign has not been healthy for Montanans. The Clark Fork of the Columbia River, for instance, at times runs red—not with blood, but with hazardous wastes. Earthquakes in Butte are more likely, according to a state environmental impact statement, as a result of mining that has dried the continental fault. Dangerously high levels of arsenic pollute soil in home gardens, and mountains of hazardous waste border residential areas, where the lung cancer death rate is twice the national average.

But now Montanans in mining areas have little time to worry about cancer and pollution. Most of them are too busy

worrying about jobs.

The case of the town of Anaconda poses a grim example for Butte. There the company has dodged all implications of social responsibility, although a community group is now looking for a way to make the company pay for part of the damage.

### Circle of deceit.

Back in 1977 things looked good for Anacondans. ARCO, the nation's 12th largest industrial concern, then took over Anaconda, promising to pursue profits "within the framework of corporate responsibility." In Federal Trade Commission testimony in 1976, ARCO chairman Robert Anderson pledged to invest a billion dollars over five years in Anaconda operations, primarily for pollution control.

But ARCO balked at upgrading the smelter—"one of the largest sources of sulfur dioxide emissions in the country," according to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). By 1980 ARCO announced it was unwilling to invest the \$400 million it claimed was necessary to meet air standards. When the EPA put the figure for compliance at only \$160 million, the company still wasn't interested.

Then in 1980—after eliminating thousands of jobs at the time of the takeover—the oil conglomerate closed the smelter, less than two months before a federal law requiring cleanup of hazardous industrial byproducts went into effect.

The timing was not accidental. In a letter dated Dec. 2, 1980, ARCO lawyer W.S. Jones asserted that the company was exempt from the law, since the smelter shut down before the Nov. 19 effective date of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA).

Having escaped legal liability for cleaning up west-central Montana, ARCO diverted attention from hazardous wastes by blaming "burdensome" air quality regulations for the shutdown. The company declined offers from both state and federal authorities to waive compliance with these air quality standards. Yet an EPA report noted, "The company cited the costs to comply with state and federal environmental and occupational health standards at the smelter as the reason for closing the facilities."

Why did ARCO close the smelter? Part of the reason is in Chile, where, with a supportive military government, ARCO has resumed the copper mining that Anaconda had been forced out of during the Allende years. Chilean ore is more than twice as rich in copper as American ore. Trade unions are banned, and wages and corporate taxes are extremely low. Shipping Chilean ore to Anaconda for smelting is prohibitively expensive; ARCO plans a new smelter on a southern port in the U.S.

Part of the reason is in avoiding pollution controls. When the company shut the smelter down, it said all its ore would be smelted in Japan. At least some of it, however, is now being smelted at the McGill smelter in Nevada, one of the dirtiest smelters in the U.S.

The company also received tax benefits by closing the smelter, according to a 1980 ARCO letter to stockholders. Finally, copper is only a small part of ARCO's business.

### Homeless on the range.

The struggle for jobs is being played out in the worst economic atmosphere in 20 years. A statewide unemployment rate of 10.5 percent averages much higher levels in western Montana with an energy jobs boom in eastern coal and oil fields.

When ARCO shut down the Anaconda smelter, it negotiated severance pay and provided \$3 million for economic development. This barely covered the community's \$2.5 million tax loss, let alone the \$50 million payroll. ARCO even protested workers' unemployment claims, because they had been on strike when they lost their jobs.

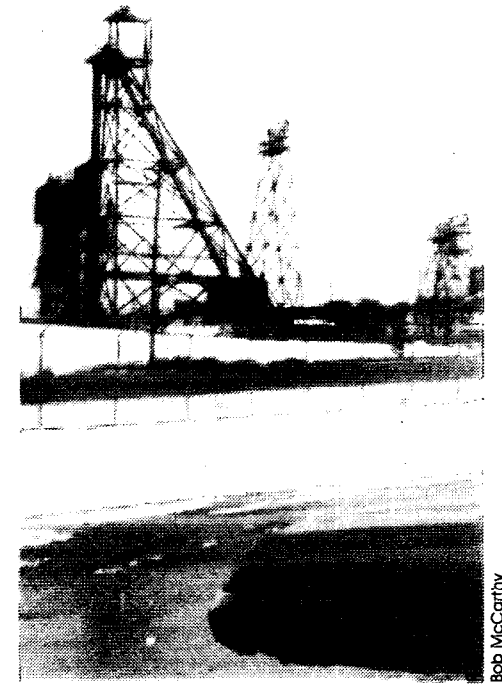
A handful of non-union, low-wage shops have set up in town with subsidies from the redevelopment fund. The most promising, a plastics firm that received a million dollars, has already filed

bankruptcy.

Some Anacondans have taken jobs in boomtown eastern Montana communities. But most don't have transferable skills, and many are unwilling to abandon friends, families and now-unsaleable homes. Many workers, moreover, were near retirement.

The church community has emerged as a focal point for the Anacondan residents' attempts to fight back. The Anaconda Ministerial Association formed the Community Services Co-op to assist with family and social problems after the shutdown. Poverty, domestic violence, mental illness and alcoholism rates have all skyrocketed. Lutheran minister Joe Dillon noted, "There were a dozen suicides last year, and that many more mysterious accidents."

The ministers tried, unsuccessfully, to



But in a rift (above) with former staff in Butte, Idaho left, a devoted Anaconda worker the future first plant home has been built in Anaconda.

pass a stockholders' resolution on plant closings. Then they tried to legislate corporate responsibility. Together with other church, labor and community activists throughout the state they revived a citizens' initiative that the Montana AFL-CIO had first sponsored unsuccessfully in 1980.

The initiative would require large corporations to notify and compensate communities and workers for shutdowns. The petitions must gather signatures of 5 percent of Montana voters to place the measure on the November ballot. The Anaconda Interfaith Community Renewal Agency in a statewide meeting in December 1981 established Montanans for Corporate Responsibility as sponsor of the initiative.

Local unions, local Democratic central committees and groups such as the Montana Senior Citizens Association have all endorsed it. Opposition has been strident, however. Democratic governor Ted Schwinden says such a law would raise a "red flag" to industries considering locating in Montana, and the Montana AFL-CIO and the state's Democratic party have refused to support it. Both are nonetheless expected to reaffirm past endorsements at their conventions.

One labor representative—Howard Rosenleaf, business agent for the Anaconda Carpenters Union and co-chair of Montanans for Corporate Responsibility—denies that the measure will deter new business.

"Business comes to Montana to make profits," he said. "No industry, especially not the resource-based companies Montana attracts, will forego potential profits because they may someday shut down and be required to do so responsibly."

Bob McCarthy is a native Anacondan, one-time smelter worker and coordinator of Montanans for Corporate Responsibility.

## Shutdowns

hit two mining towns.





# LETTERS

*IN THESE TIMES* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## THE FAMILY MATTERS

I HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING THE DISCUSSIONS by Kate Ellis, Michael Lerner, et al., on the family with a great deal of interest. I think that Ellis is correct in saying that the debate hinges on two definitions of the family. But I don't think that using the "minimalist/maximalist" distinction is appropriate in this case. For me a "minimalist" definition of a family is two people living and loving together.

When Ellis presents her viewpoint, I notice descriptions of today's predominant mode of family life, how it came about and the consequences of this situation for the family members. When she critiques the "maximalist" approach I see many "woulds" and "coulds," conditional statements that require something to happen for the idea to be made concrete.

This seems to be similar to the old debate about whether or not we live in a "democracy." Certainly we could make our society much more democratic than it is now, but we also realize that we are far better off than our comrades elsewhere and in past times. Our "ideal democracy" is not yet a reality, but can we deny that we do, indeed, live in some sort of a democracy? So it is with the family. In a world built upon the

power principle, having a real, loving relationship is rare—especially in a patriarchal family setting.

I value the comments of Ellis, because they warn us all of the cruelty that now exists within our society. In addition, she alerts us to the fact that many things besides the family must be changed in order to alter familial relationships. I also appreciate Lerner's comments, because he provides a vision, a goal, for what family life *could* be like if things were different. That is why I think that Lerner's message and organization are important: They provide a "carrot" that the hard-to-motivate public can strive for. Ellis' reminders of the misery of the present serve as a necessary "stick" to prompt that public to search for more loving alternatives.

—Raymond Shirley Parrish  
Harrisburg, Ill.

## IF IT'S BERRY, THESE MUST BE BELGIANS

AFTER I READ GEOFFREY GARDNER'S review of *Recollected Essays* (ITT, April 21), I wondered what had happened to Wendell Berry. Kagan's photographs suggest that he's gained at least 20 pounds. And why is Berry riding a Massey-Ferguson? Has he sold his team of Belgians?

Sincerely disappointed in sloppy work,

—Joan Joffe Hall  
Storrs, Conn.

Editor's note: A caption should have indicated that the farmer in the photo was not Wendell Berry.

## NORTHWEST ORIENTATION

JUST A SHORT LETTER TO LET YOU know how much we appreciate your publication. Our fledgling news department received a gift subscription to *In These Times* for Christmas, and since then it has become an invaluable source of information for us to draw from.

Articles from *In These Times* have often led us to a story right here in the Northwest that otherwise would have remained undiscovered, and your news perspective is a successful example of the focus we are trying to achieve in our radiocasts. We frequently mention *In These Times* as one of our news sources in an attempt to make our audience aware of your fine publication.

I'm hopeful that your fundraising efforts will be successful and that we can look forward to many more years of provocative and informative news reporting.

—Francisco A. Chateaubriand  
News Director, KAOS Alternative News  
Olympia, Wash.

## ART ON REVOLUTION

THE DISASTROUS OUTCOME IN EL Salvador confirms once more that elections in Latin America—and in the U.S. as well—are as meaningful as sex education for eunuchs.

How can voting mean anything when the underlying economies of this hemisphere themselves rest on exploitative domination?

First we must sweep aside the con-

quistador-tycoon world-view through revolution and wars of liberation. Then we can establish a socialist economy based on cooperation rather than exploitation and enjoy peace, justice, equality and a significant democratic process.

The revolution comes first, the socialist economy second and then, inevitably, democracy will follow. Nothing else can work. But in the U.S. elections should be used to bring basic issues to the attention of the American people.

—Art Liebrez  
Corte Madera, Calif.

## SOCIALISM FOR BEGINNERS

TO READ KATE ELLIS' WRITING ON the family (ITT, April 14) helps explain why socialism is an isolated concept in our country, understood and supported by only a few initiates to its wordy mysteries. If we really wanted to bring about social change, we would see that the family is an instrument to be used for that purpose. But first, we have to accept some obvious realities:

(1) A family is the basic unit of society. (Even socialist countries have them.) All of us are born of a woman and a man. Children go through certain developmental stages, not too well understood even by socialist parents, which may explain why children sometimes rebel against their upbringing, even a socialist one.

(2) Therefore we need what Lerner suggests—education for parents, community support for one another, etc. The content of that education, the content of the community support, can and should be political as well as personal.

(3) The family encompasses our knowledge of the first set of relationships, love, security, power or their opposites.

(4) So, dear idealogues, get off your abstract horses, and begin talking to us about how we can be adequate teachers of our children so that they understand power, who controls it now and how to use it to bring about a better world.

Socialism will not spring forth full-blown from some handbook. It will move into our mainstream as we see the family as a basic, human classroom.

—Ida Mockrin Brodsky  
Philadelphia

## SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



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# PERSPECTIVES



The government's attempt to change opinions may take more than a managed press (above, Poles pray immediately after a state of war was declared).

## The battle for Poland's mind

Translated by Andrzej Tymowski

**T**HE STATE OF WAR IN POLAND was imposed with classic "tough cop-friendly cop" techniques. First the army was deployed to intimidate the population, to atomize it into isolated individuals forbidden to talk on the telephone or ride the trolley across town without state permission. Then as the harshest of martial law restrictions began to ease, the "friendly cop" took over. TV, radio and the daily papers issued soothing appeals to reason.

This procedure amounted to the attempted brainwashing of 36 million people. They were separated from each other and from their natural support community, Solidarity. They were offered the opportunity to repudiate a "treasonous past" by acquiescing to public humiliation of Solidarity leaders (as in the first article translated below by Henry Prawda, from *Głos Szczeciński*, or *The Szczecin Voice* of Jan. 23).

The implied admission, "I am not like them," was refused by many. So many writers refused to resume work under a military occupation that several newspapers, such as the prestigious *Kultura*, have still not reappeared for lack of staff. Rather than endure "verification" in the front office, some journalists have taken jobs in their paper's printing plants.

The personal resistance of isolated individuals erupted into open revolt in the 30,000 strong counter-May Day demonstrations in Warsaw and Gdansk. It is too early to call these demonstrations the beginning of the end of the state of war.

But it is now certain that the "friendly cop" will have to revise the prediction that sometime in May "we can return to normal," as the interview with a fifth grader translated below suggests. It first appeared in *Polityka*, April 27. The journal is a leading East European political journal, and is edited by Mieczysław Rakowski, chief government spokesman under the state of war.

—A.T.

**Andrzej Slowik:  
Vampire from  
Lodz**

We have in our possession a tape recording of Andrzej Slowik's appearance before Solidarity activists at the Marchlewski Textile Factory in Lodz on Dec-

ember 9. Slowik is the chairman of the Lodz Regional Board of Solidarity and a member of its National Commission. His audience was huge because the speech was transmitted over the public address system to the various departments of the plant.

As is well known, most of the workers there are women. Therefore [sic] they were able to assess on the spot the true intentions of this faithful follower of Solidarity adviser Kuron. Slowik did not mince words. He urged that a direct-action strike be called. According to him this would be the best way to take control where it really counts, to "suck the Party's blood" (yes! yes!), to "shave the heads" of women who do not submit to the rigors of the direct-action strike (just like the Nazis did!), to "throw them out of their jobs." Those poor, harried, overworked weavers and spinners were now supposed to begin a holy war against the state.

Pulling out all the stops, he shouted, "We have got to make our move. This means confronting the Party in factories, so that we can do what we want to do—to drink its blood without blowing a hole in its stomach." He continued, "A lot has been said about throwing the Party out of workplaces. And rightly so, factories were built so that people could come here to work, not make politics. That can be settled elsewhere. The factory is a place for work, for defending working conditions and human needs, and not a place for politics and usurpation of the economy."

What perfidious crap from Mr. Slowik! A genuine political vampire....

### "So that we can return to normal"

The following is an interview with Marcin Radziminski. He is 11 years old and attends the fifth grade in Warsaw's Szymanski grade school.

*Tell us what it was like when you found out about the state of war.*

We couldn't get any radio or TV. I tried to call a friend of mine. We were supposed to go to a flea market, the Skra, to sell some stuff, but the phone was dead. Marek had been over to my house on Saturday and my dad was sure that the telephone and the TV were our fault. But every hour on the hour Jaruzelski came on the air and everything became clear. I taped him right away. And on Monday they put Glemp on, the Catholic primate of Poland, and I taped him, too. I understood Glemp the best of all. He showed some penitence.

*What do you mean, penitence?*

That he would seek peace even on his knees.

*What, exactly, did you understand so well from Glemp?*

That this is no joke, that the state of war is a situation in which every person must obey the law if he knows what's good for him.

Mama wouldn't let me go out anywhere, so I took a telescope over to the window. Every 15 minutes a patrol of soldiers went by; I timed it. I counted the armored vehicles and I took notes. I tried to figure out what was going on,

because I'm interested in such stuff. I collect army vehicles, models of course. On Monday I went out and right off I heard a boom.

I thought maybe it was the Germans after all, because there was a special prohibition against travel in the border zone. But no, it wasn't the Germans. For the first time in my life I saw an armored vehicle on caterpillar tracks in front of the Airman's statue.

*Do you know why there are soldiers on the streets?*

To keep order and, in a way, to scare people. To show strength and to show that the army has taken power.

*Why did the army take power?*

Jaruzelski picked a moment in which Solidarity was barely, barely holding on. Solidarity threw its weight around as best it could but the strikes led nowhere. And even if lost worktime were made up, there would still be a mess. We had a class about strikes in school.

[He takes out a notebook: Lesson 43. Oct. 17, 1981. Theme: Talking about strikes. Vocabulary: Solidarity strike, general, sit-in, rotating, hunger. For homework get some information about Wanda Wasilewska.]

*Wanda Wasilewska?*

She organized teachers' strikes.

*Do you talk much about the state of war with your friends at school?*

Sure. There are a lot of jokes going around now. It's too bad that at first there was no school because there was nobody to talk to. My dad drove me to stay with our relatives in Wielun, just outside Warsaw, so that I wouldn't wander off somewhere. We had horrible problems trying to register. [Every change of residence, no matter for how short a time, needs to be reported to the local police precinct.] In Wielun I actually didn't meet many other boys, because not many came out to the skating rink. My friend's uncle got interned but he's out now. Three parents of kids in our class lost their jobs for striking at Ursus, the Warsaw tractor factory where Solidarity was strong. We talk about that. We talk politics. We tell each other what we've seen or heard, although it's not always true.

*How do you separate truth from fiction in these stories?*

Lies never last long. I believe what seems most likely and real. We hear crazy stories about foreign planes spraying chemicals so that a single bomb dropped to ignite them would destroy us all. I don't believe any of it.

*Do you ever ask adults about these things?*

Adults? No, I guess not. This is our business and we know how to deal with it. Almost every one of us brags about having a soldier-friend or about seeing a military patrol that marched somebody along at rifle-point. These are made-up stories mostly, but they're possible. My buddies are interested in the army.

*Do you talk about this in school?*

Continued on page 13

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## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## COLLEGE STUDENTS

## The greening of right-wing journalism



By David Corn

Phil Marcus, executive director of the Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA), an organization devoted to spreading pro-corporate values on campuses, laid it out: "We have found that the most effective thing to do to confront the adversary culture in the intellectual world (liberalism) is to go to the students." It is now time for the right to recapture that last refuge of liberalism—the campus—he explained in his welcoming address at a closed-to-the-public conference organized by the IEA and the conservative monthly *The American Spectator* for writers and editors from college publications of a right-wing bent.

Posing as a Columbia student interested in starting a conservative campus newspaper, I infiltrated the next generation of conservative pundits—the future Norman Podhoretzes, Irving Kristols and R. Emmett Tyrrells. Forty young cons from across the nation had assembled at the New York Athletic Club (jacket and tie for gentlemen, skirts for women and no turtleneck sweaters) to trade stories ("Boy, those gays were sure mad when we ran that story revealing their names"), hobnob with the old guard ("George, I'd like you to meet Tom Bethell"), form a network ("If you have any trouble with funding, just give us a call")

and mostly to be initiated into the conservative intelligentsia.

But despite the efforts of organizers who tried to foster a one-big-happy-family atmosphere, the meeting revealed underlying tensions festering on the young right.

"It is time to show them that conservatives are going to speak out," a Williams College student told me at a continental breakfast. "You know," he said, "there was this gay guy who attacked another guy at the library at Williams and they didn't do a damn thing about it. They were afraid to." "They," he explained, are the spineless, permissive, liberal university administrators who bend over backward to placate homosexuals, blacks and women. His voice rising to a near-shout, he declared that these administrators are out of touch with the conservative reality of the day. "They're idiots," he commented before he went off to search for a croissant.

Though much of the day was devoted to nuts-and-bolts issues—how to solicit advertising, how to distribute a student publication—one coherent strand ran through the entire conference.

Liberals are silly and, to borrow the eloquence of R. Emmett Tyrrell, "idiotic." Speaker after speaker poked and jabbed at the wounds of liberalism, as the students, fashioned in the very image of Brooks Brothers, gleamed with laughter.

Since 1978 the IEA has searched for ways to advance conservative sentiments on the nation's campuses. The recent increase in the number of conservative campus publications provided a natural opportunity. Most of the 13 papers represented at the conference either already had financial support or were seeking it from the IEA, itself funded by the John M. Olin, Smith Richardson Scaife Family Charitable Trusts and J.M. foundations. When I mentioned that I intended to start a paper at Columbia, Marcus smiled and told me to speak to him about financing as soon as I was ready.

**Threat to diversity.**

These papers, while they might have spawned organically, have been integrated into an organized, nation-wide campaign aimed at advancing conservatism on campuses. With the costs of running a paper on the rise, the lure of easy money may pull some student journalists from independent to conservative positions. One student publisher admitted that his editor was pressing for their paper to adopt a strong conservative line in order to receive IEA funds. He had come to the conference to see how right his paper would have to turn to get them.

But a clear majority of the students attending were the proud heirs of the conservative legacy. Cocky self-confidence was the

rule. Their preppie clothes and yacht-club mannerisms bespoke a self-proclaimed superiority.

But there were some exceptions. Present were Jewish neo-conservatives, Southern, anti-Semitic fundamentalists and some who defy categorization. Political and ideological differences were evident. But even if the young cons could not all agree on abortion, a topic only discussed in furtive whispers, one thing did unite the entire gathering—their time had come, and the idiots were on the retreat. And the person who exulted most in this was the guiding spirit of the conference—R. Emmett Tyrrell, editor and founder of *The American Spectator*, which started as a student publication.

In 1967, Bob Tyrrell, a graduate student in history at Indiana University in Bloomington, dismayed at the influence of Students for a Democratic Society at his school, founded *The Alternative*. "It was called *The Alternative*," J. Whitney Stillman, the New York editor of *The American Spectator*, told the conference, "because it stressed another way of life—the old speakeasy style. Tyrrell wanted to give people something to believe in, even if it was just drinking beer."

Tyrrell edited the right-wing campus paper until 1971. Then, at William F. Buckley's suggestion, he turned *The Alternative*

into a national student magazine distributed free of charge to fraternities, sororities, campus newspapers and radio stations, student leaders, college presidents and VIPs of the right. A year later, according to Ronald Burr, the current publisher of *The American Spectator*, *The Alternative* began to replace its free list with subscribers and blossomed into a national opinion magazine featuring such bright young stars as George F. Will. In 1977 the monthly dropped its original moniker in favor of its present, more traditional sounding name.

Since 1972 *The American Spectator* has increased its circulation from 2,500 to 41,000 readers and has been supported primarily by private contributors, including the IEA itself. During lunch, Tyrrell credited his magazine's initial success to its humor, a biting, ridiculing satire. (In the early days, Tyrrell refused to capitalize the names of people he did not like.) As Tyrrell tells it, the Indiana campus in 1967 was saturated with left-wing papers that published detailed how-to stories concerning drugs and sex. "We couldn't use drugs and sex," he explained, "so we used humor. Life is funny, particularly liberals. That's not a cheap shot. Liberals are funny." Under Tyrrell, the traditional Hobbesian formula is revised. Life is nasty, brutish, short and funny. But then so is Tyrrell.

Speaking before a crowd of young admirers at a fancy luncheon, Tyrrell must surely be at his best. His hair is cut short. He is dressed smartly and is aristocratic in manner. In a jerky voice, he begins his exhortation: "Someone once told me to use the word 'idiot' when making a speech. It always gets a laugh (laughter). Don't be afraid to call liberals idiots (more laughter). They are (further laughter). The real intellectual exchange is between the intelligent and the unintelligent. There may be a few intelligent liberals. I'm not sure, and I'm not saying you should invite them into your house. But you should be aware of this."

His message echoed the complaints of many of the conference participants. Liberalism runs rampant through the groves of academia; leftist ideology is regarded as legitimate territory for academic study, but conservative ideology is disregarded and ignored.

**Lonely but right.**

Though they place faith in conservatism's manifest destiny and rejoice in Reagan's ascent, most of these campus conservatives complained about being isolated on campus, alienated from most of the student body. Even with financial support and their own publications, they feel persecuted, minorities representing the lone voices of "reason" caught in liberalism's final enclave. Wladyslaw Pleasacynski, managing editor of *The American Spectator*, told the audience to reconcile itself to this situation. "Assume you'll be arguing from a point of intellectual strength, if political weakness," he suggested. William McGurn, assistant managing editor of *The American Spectator*, sympathized with the students: "By being an alternative paper, you come into a lot of abuse. Above all, you have to maintain your integrity. But a few slurs won't hurt. We're all for a few slurs. But you can't be too strident. The people will dismiss you. You can't print Ku Klux Klan literature. We've of-

Steve Kagan



fended a lot of people, but we've offended the right people."

But it was the Tyrrellian attitude, coupled with the dilemma of dealing with accusations of racism and sexism, that brought to the surface differences in the crowd. In the afternoon session Roseanne Haggerty, editor of *The Amherst Student* and one of the two female participants, raised both these issues (which eventually fused into the question "How sincere are conservatives?"). The threads began to unravel in the middle of a discussion on a conservative defense against charges of racism and sexism.

One speaker after another proposed tactical responses. "If someone accuses you of being a racist or a sexist, and you are certain you are not, accuse them back of McCarthyism," roused Tom Bethell, Washington editor of *The American Spectator*. William Kristol, the son of neoconservative Irving Kristol and contributor to many right-wing publications, commented, "I should take it as an insult, and it is proper to be indignant on your own behalf." Les Lenkowsky of the Smith Richardson Foundation advised, "If you argue simply on the merit, one can end up throwing the accusation back on the accuser." Master of ceremonies Phil Marcus recommended a reading of Thomas Sowell's anti-affirmative action tract *Ethnic America*. All declined, in pure Tyrrellian fashion, to confront the substantive issue of conservatives' attitude toward women and minorities.

John Podhoretz, editor of *Counterpoint* magazine at the University of Chicago and the son of *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz, made the first substantive, though pathetic, stab at the issue that plagued some conservative consciences in attendance:

"We have to remember that minorities, which is truly a veiled reference to blacks, that minorities are, after all, minorities. If you have a staff with 10 people and one is black, you are far from being a racist or discriminating. You are, as percentages go, right on the target. There are women in this room. One can simply say that we do communicate."

"Considering that some of us here are Jewish, the fact that we're sitting in the New York Athletic Club shows racism has been eliminated from this country." There were no blacks, Hispanics, Asians or any Native Americans at the conference, and only two of the 40 students there were women.

As the discussion became heated, moderator Adam Meyerson, an editorial writer for *The Wall Street Journal*, tried to steer the debate from conservatism and women and minorities. "Just what does a conservative paper mean?" he asked. Haggerty quickly stood up and, with a great deal of composure, challenged the orthodoxy and Tyrrellian strategy. "As a minority here, I just want to say that too much conversation among conservatives takes place among conservatives and not with liberals or moderates. There is no acknowledgement that there might be some element of truth on the other side. Women and minorities, who are associated with liberals, are frustrated. The conservatives are condescending and smug and make no attempt to reach out."

"Who's not willing to communicate!" Bethell snorted.

"They're not willing to listen." He paused, sat back in his chair and added, "I am truly willing to communicate." "I hate to use words like condescending and smug," Haggerty responded, "but those are the words that come to mind. There's no attempt to rationally look at the other side without ridiculing it and treating it as absurd."

Bennett Cooper, editorial director of *The Salient* at Harvard University, picked up on Haggerty's concerns. "There's a real stigma attached to conservatives," he complained.

### Self-vindicating ideas.

Not all the students, though, were plagued with insecurities. Most were quite satisfied with their position. In fact, William Cattin, one of the pompous editors of *The Dartmouth Review*, made a statesman-like plea in

favor of smugness and condescension. "To the point we are self-indulgent," he orated, "conservatives have a right to be self-indulgent by virtue of the fact that we are publishing. Just look at how many conservative [campus] magazines there are now. To a certain extent, we have vindicated ourselves."

"One thing has troubled me about the conservative press," Podhoretz cautioned his comrades. "One of the reasons that it became smug and condescending, which it did, was because it considered itself, as Bill Kristol said, beleaguered and alone. What is dangerous is that people in this room become insular, and there is some indication this is happening. Reagan won, but the Democrats have been waging a strong fight against Reagan."

"We should realize we've been

successful. We're all sitting here now. There will be articles written about us. The fact that we're being portrayed as the most pernicious threat to democracy since Joseph McCarthy is heartening. We can't crawl into a hole. The fight has to be fought. We have to fight the administration when it betrays a promise, for everybody knows when you are no longer in the opposition, you have less to say."

As the conference drew to a close, Podhoretz, in a move that would have made his father proud, put forward the case for traditional liberalism.

"When you refer to liberals in a derogatory tone, as most people have done today, I believe you isolate yourself. I still consider myself a liberal. In the McCarthy age, the best attack on McCarthy came not from the right, but from liberals like Ir-

ving Kristol who said McCarthy is wrong, but there are still a lot of Communists.... I think in this country liberalism is a noble tradition. An important thing to remember is when the New Deal was established, no one knew that it would have such ramifications later that we disagree with. But we can't deny the very good and very sound effect it had on us.... There was an effort in the early '70s to save the word 'liberal.'"

"I think it has lost," interrupted Bethell.

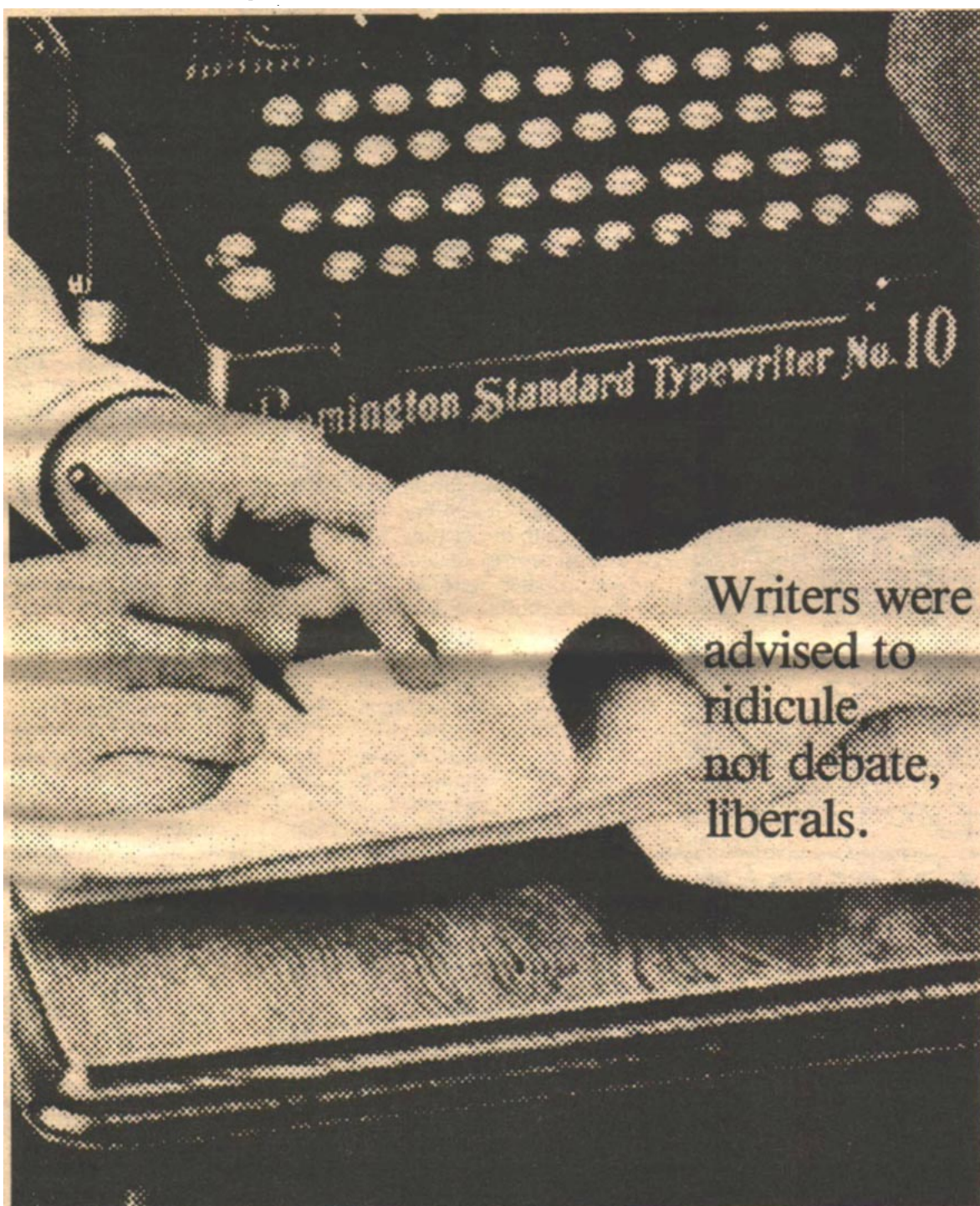
And so had Podhoretz. There was an eerie silence in the room. He sat down and fidgeted with a pile of papers in front of him. Marcus then issued some unmemorable closing remarks and the conference adjourned to a cocktail party.

Between drinks, both Podhoretz and Haggerty nursed their wounds. "Some of these people here want to get rid of the whole welfare state. Don't they know it's here to stay," Podhoretz said to me. Haggerty was far more upset. "I'm disappointed with Tyrrell," she said. "It's not enough to just ridicule the other side. I try to be objective and present facts. Facts will convince the reader, not ridicule."

Clearly, there were divisions among the cream of the conservative crop, yet Meyerson and Marcus had managed to maintain a sense of unity. Tyrrell, the intellectual thug, must have been delighted with their performance. But with the apparent, repressed divisions on the right, such skills may one day be used by conservatives against each other. And those who are taught that liberals are merely simpletons will certainly be no match for the next line of liberal thinkers.

During his luncheon address, Tyrrell was asked by one of Haggerty's fellow staffers at *The Amherst Student* if "conservatism means being a racist and a sexist." "Yes it does," Tyrrell quickly responded. The audience erupted into laughter, and when it subsided Tyrrell paused dramatically and said, "But I'd like to add that I meant that ironically." Now if one was practicing Tyrrellian intellectualism, one need only quote the English proverb, "Many a true word is spoken in jest," to prove one's point. But that would be idiotic. ■

David Corn is a New York freelance writer whose work has appeared in *The Nation*, *Charlotte Observer* and *Multinational Monitor*.



## Poland

Continued from page 11

Our teacher asked if anybody's parents were interned or have lost their jobs. She asked, "Do you children know what the state of war is and why it happened?" We answered, "Of course, who wouldn't know what it's about?"

Well, why is there a state of war?

In order to stop strikes, to calm the situation in the country, to get Solidarity to change its ways, and to bring about order everywhere.

I think that it will be over soon. The prohibitions—that is, the laws—were very harsh, but now things will be easier—until everything returns to normal, but prices are higher. As long as no one tries any rebellions.

Because the state of war exists for this also, to avoid civil war, everybody fighting each other.

Why would civil war break out? It wasn't possible just to put things back where they were. That was tried, although it turned out to be very strict.

What does "normalization" mean?

After the state of war is called off, the chaos gets straightened out, and we have order. There shouldn't be any more ration coupons, that parents won't have to stand in long lines, because God knows they are so exhausted. There won't be high prices, because no one can afford a bike anymore. A good one already costs 11-12 thousand [two months average wages].

Is that so? Did you see one in a store?

What! A bicycle in a store? No, I heard someone talking about it on the trolley car.

How far away is normalization? At the latest we should have calm restored by May, although you never know. But I rather doubt that there will be any rebellions.

What needs to be done to eliminate high prices, ration coupons, and long lines?

I don't know exactly, but I have a general idea. We need a lot of people working on farms. Farm products should be expensive, but not too expensive. City products should be cheap so that farmers will want to keep working, keep raising livestock for sale. Food is the most important thing, because the long lines are mostly for food and sweets. First we need to solve the problem of agriculture. There won't be any more waiting in line because there will be plenty of meat, because there will be people making soap out of animal fat, and so on.

But, of course, the state of

war has to be over. I'm having a great time because I get to see armored vehicles and I get to talk to soldiers. But for the families of soldiers and those interned it isn't so much fun because they are standing out in the freezing cold, they have long hours on duty or other things to do.

Are you a boy scout?

Yes, I am, and I think every scout should do his best under the circumstances. We help older people, we collect bottles that are now cluttering basements and apartments.... Boy and girl scouts stand in line for people who can't. One woman has paralyzed legs and we help her. The sooner we begin to help each other, the sooner we'll return to normal. ■

Andrzej Tymowski's last translation on Poland for *In These Times* was "A flag and a door" (Feb. 17). These and other articles will appear in a booklet, *Solidarity under Siege*, Box 714, New Haven, CT 06511.



## IN PRINT

## MOVIE HISTORY

## The script was political

**The Hollywood Writers' Wars**  
By Nancy Lynn Schwartz  
Knopf, 334 pp., \$17.95

By Jean Butler

Nancy Lynn Schwartz arrived in Hollywood in the mid-'70s at 22 with a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to write a book on the Screen Writers Guild and the Hollywood blacklist. The writers she interviewed poured out into her tape recorder reminiscences they had given no one else—indeed, that they had hardly remembered until her well-aimed questions reminded them. One writer-producer was so impressed by her that he hired her to write several teleplays for him, interrupting the progress of the book until spring '78. She could not quite finish it. By late summer it was discovered that she had a brain tumor. Surgery was unavailing, and in a matter of days, she died.

Now the book, put into final shape by her mother, has come out, and it is an extraordinary accomplishment. Somehow this young woman acquired an overview of the '30s, '40s and early '50s that many of us who lived through those years did not have. I was a young wife and mother and an incipient writer during those days, and until now had only fragmentary memories of that period. Now suddenly it all takes shape.

*Wars* begins with the Depression years when over-expanded studios, damaged by the advent of talkies and the consequent loss of their foreign markets, turned for financial help to eastern banks and bankers. Since Los Angeles in 1933 was an open-shop town, motion-picture production must have seemed a safe investment. That situation, however, didn't obtain for long; within months, worker dissatisfaction began to surface.

The only unions recognized by the studios at that time were the musicians' and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, then largely controlled by gangsters. Producers set up a "company union," and the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences was born. However, the industry-wide paycuts demanded by the studios in spring 1933, affecting all employees but IATSE members, made unionization begin to look like a very good idea. The Screen Writers Guild came into being as an affiliate of the Authors League of America. The modest demands of early Guild members set the stage for subsequent struggles between Hollywood's left and right.

*Wars* then charts the infancy of the Screen Writers Guild, or SWG (its first president was John Howard Lawson, who later went to prison for contempt of Congress as one of the "Hollywood Ten"), its withdrawal from the Motion Picture Academy and the attempt by a group

of right-wing writers to seize the territory by the formation of the Screen Playwrights, which quickly won a sweetheart contract from the producers.

By the mid- to late-'30s, there was a growing radicalization of American writers nationwide. It was the time of Dos Passos, Dreiser, Samuel Ornitz, Dorothy Parker, Lillian Hellman and Dashiell Hammett were urging young screenwriters to join the SWG. And from '34 on, sons and



Dorothy Parker (left, with her husband) was a SWG board member.

daughters of Hollywood producers were coming home from college awakened to social issues.

Nancy Schwartz's coverage of this period is filled with the excitement we were all feeling. She takes us through the near-destruction of the SWG by the producers' red-baiting, and its Phoenix-like revival. She describes the campaign by desperate SWG members to win certification via its first National Labor Relations Board election.

And she records the passionate involvement of Hollywood's left and liberals in the fight against fascism abroad. She comments, accurately, that those anti-fascist committees "would undoubtedly have existed without the Communist Party, but what the Party did do was lend a structure and a content to political efforts in Hollywood." In spite of the subsequent defection and disillusion by many of its members, the Party "served a variety of functions for the people who joined it—so much so that some of the victims who paid most dearly for that involvement later were to look back with nostalgia on what they considered the high point of their life."

In Washington, the Dies committee (HUAC) was growing increasingly strident. A few Hollywood figures carried guns, in order to shoot Communists. The Hollywood left continued to warn against the growing might



John Howard Lawson, the Screen Writers Guild's first president, became one of the "Hollywood Ten."

of Hitler...and then, abruptly, the German-Soviet non-aggression pact was announced.

People resigned from "front" organizations in droves. The Communist Party attempted to defend the pact philosophically, evoking scorn and disbelief from liberals and embarrassment from Party members. To an extent, it compounded its own problems. The bitterness of the Party's attack on Budd Schulberg's *What Makes Sammy Run* must certainly have helped mold Schulberg into the "friendly witness" that he later became.

Not until June '41, when Hitler attacked Russia, did the Hollywood left find itself back in the mainstream of American life and thought. The honeymoon lasted very little longer than the war. The tenuous alliance with

the Soviet Union came apart at the seams. As U.S. policy became increasingly anti-Soviet abroad, anti-Communism became an increasingly popular commodity at home—just as the left became increasingly intransigent. Listen to Dorothy Healey: "There is a tragic vulnerability to revolutionaries who don't think. It's necessary to have a certain level of faith or acceptance among those who are going to follow a certain line, but in the long run it's better to have thinking, challenging people."

From the beginning of the Cold War abroad, it was only a few short steps to the famous HUAC hearings and the blacklist at home. Reputations were destroyed, careers ruined. Those writers who could, pulled up

Continued on page 15

## CALENDAR

As a service to our readers and to disarmament organizations, **In These Times** is preparing a special **Disarmament Calendar** for the last issue in May and the first issue in June (5/26 and 6/2). We will feature events that center on disarmament issues occurring across the nation. Help us fill an entire page—don't let your event go unannounced. Call Angie Fa. Paul Ginger or Terry Thorson, (312) 489-4444, to reserve space now. The cost will be \$25 for 2 listings.

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Paul Ginger**.

## CHICAGO, IL

## May 14

The Night-Life Child Care Center at CrossCurrents is open every Friday evening in May, 7:30 p.m.-midnight, for children of our customers aged three months and older. It is non-licensed, faculty-equipped for play, rest and good care, and requires that parents be on the premises—in the bar, cabaret or upstairs. For information, call (312) 472-7778. CrossCurrents, 3206 N. Wilton Avenue, Chicago, IL 60657.

## May 22

One-day conference: "The Relevance of Marxism: Studies in the His-

tory, Politics, Economy and Culture of Illinois." Saturday at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. Sponsored by Marxist Educational Press. Keynote by John Coatsworth. Registration (\$10.00 faculty and employed, \$3.00 students and unemployed) beginning at 8:30 a.m., Rafael Cintron Ortiz Cultural Center, Building B, Lecture Center (west of corner of Halsted & Polk Sts., easy walking distance).

## NEW YORK, NY

## May 14

New York Institute for Social Therapy and Research Speaker Series: Journalism and Politics: What should the progressive media be doing to build independent politics in the '80s? Speakers: Hamilton Fish, the Nation; Conrado Hernandez, El Diario & The Final Call; Judy Simmons, WLIB radio; moderator Jacqueline Salit, the NY Alliance. 8:15 p.m., Teachers College, Columbia U., 120th St. & Broadway. Admission \$3.50 (low income \$1.50). Information: (212) 663-5056.

## May 22

Salmon Show with Bob Carroll. Academic Freedom Benefit for Bertell Ollman in his suit against University of Maryland. 8 p.m., Schimmel Auditorium, Tisch Hall (NYU), 40 W. 4th St. \$10 donation (\$4 for students and unemployed). See ad in this issue.

## May 23

Panel Discussion: Jews in Poland Today, Sunday 2 p.m. Participants: Abraham Blumberg, Lucjan Dobroszycki, Jerzy Warman, Lawrence Wexler. Moderator: Samuel Norich. Admission: \$3.50, students and seniors \$2.

For information and reservations, (212) 860-1889 weekdays 9-5. The Jewish Museum, 5th Ave., at 92nd St., New York, NY 10028.

## PHILADELPHIA, PA

## May 15

Women Strike for Peace proudly invites you to a luncheon honoring Linus Pauling, Nobel Laureate. Phila. Centre Hotel, 1725 J.F. Kennedy Blvd., 12:30 p.m. For more information: (215) WA3-0861.

## NEWARK, NJ

## May 15

The "Democratic Agenda: Confronting Reagan, Recessions and Retreat" Eastern Regional Conference on the economic and political alternatives to Reagan and the Democratic Party retreat. Strategies for grassroots organizing and electoral coalitions. Terry Herndon, Karen Burstein, Michael Harrington, Gordon Adams, Carol O'Leireacain, others. Robert Treat Hotel, 50 Park Place, 9 a.m.-6 p.m. Registration: \$15; \$10 low income; \$25 with luncheon; (212) 260-3270.

## BROOKLYN, NY

## May 20

Michael Harrington, Chair of Democratic Socialists of America, will present the "Democratic Socialist Alternative to Reaganomics" on Thursday at 7:30 p.m. at St. Johns St. Matthew Emmanuel Lutheran Church Community Center, 415 7th St. For further information contact Sy Posner at (212) 783-3940 or (212) 488-3054. \$2 donation requested. Refreshments will be served during and after the meeting.

## BOONE, IA

## May 28-31

The 7th Annual Midwest Radical Therapy Conference will take place at Camp Hantessa in Boone, Iowa. Theme: "Using Radical Therapy for Social Change." Workshops and speakers on Radical Therapy, the draft, racism, sexism, the antinuclear struggle, networking and community-building and many more. Cost includes: food, lodging and childcare. Registration is \$75.00 in advance and \$85.00 on site. Write: Midwest Radical Therapy Conference, P.O. Box 521, Madison, WI 53701 or call Max at (608) 255-1448.

## BERKELEY, CA

## May 22

Psychoanalysis and Social Action Saturday at U.C. Berkeley, 145 Dwinelle Hall, 9:30 a.m.-6 p.m. Sponsored by: "Group for Critical Psychoanalysis." Keynote speaker—Joel Kovel, M.D., author of "The Age of Desire: Case Histories of a Radical Psychoanalyst." Panels on sexuality and the family, the nuclear question, community mental health, resistance to political activity. Donations requested (\$5-8). Information: Richard Bloom, (415) 549-2303.

## NASHVILLE, TN

## May 29-30

Southern Democratic Socialist Education Conference at Scarritt College. Join Eddie James Carthan, Manning Marable, H.L. Mitchell and Andrea Young for plenary and workshop sessions on Democratic Socialism and the South. Registration is \$15. For information contact Bill Barclay, Democratic Socialists of America, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 871-7700.



# Wars

Continued from page 14

stakes and moved abroad. A generation of writer sons and daughters are bilingual because their parents took refuge in France or Mexico. But *Wars* does not get to this. It brings us to the immediate aftermath of the HUAC hearings and the contempt convictions, with the Ren preparing to go off to jail. It ends with an assessment: "The blacklist didn't just happen. It was the outcome of forces that had been coalescing for 15 years.

...But in those years there was an energy that seemed invulnerable, and everybody did indeed believe they were building a better world."

Schwartz has captured the passion, the dedication, the anguished struggles between blind faith and individual conscience, and the attempt to lead normal lives—in spite of the whiplash of history. There are minor inaccuracies, probably because she died before she could re-check her data. But what matters is that she has recreated an important moment.

**Jean Butler currently writes for TV daytime drama and is an active member of the Screen Writers Guild.**

# Jury

Continued from page 16

ly by saying, 'put people before profits.' The paper stresses the importance of involvement in the electoral process."

The judge seemed genuinely curious; the lawyers looked appalled.

"Would it be close in position to the Socialist Party in England?"

"No, and unfortunately there is no handy analogy in this country," I said, "unless you want to go back to before 1925 and the

Socialist Party."

But that was too far back. The judge turned me over to the prosecutor, who definitely had an air of drawing on gloves.

"You say you write for a political newspaper," he said in a deliberately neutral voice. "Does this mean you believe in extreme individual rights?"

"I believe very strongly in the first amendment," I said, "but I don't know what you mean by 'extreme individual rights.'"

"Do you believe that the state has a right to make a criminal judgment on an individual? Would you have trouble signing a document saying this person was guilty if you thought he was?"

For a moment I was speechless. Then I solemnly answered, "I wouldn't have trouble, no."

"Would you distrust what a police officer said, just because he is a police officer?"

"No."

But my answers weren't good enough. He immediately asked the judge to dismiss me, and the judge promptly thanked me for my time and asked me to pick up my \$15 payment outside.

As I left the juror behind me mouthed, "You're lucky."

The next day I mentioned to a fellow journalist that I had served jury duty. "Oh, yeah?" she said. "I've gone too, but they never pick me. I have too many opinions."

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**DISARMAMENT Activists**—In These Times is preparing a special disarmament issue and we need your help. Announce your disarmament events in our Calendar section: the last issue in May and the first issue in June (5/26 and 6/2). See the announcement in this issue's Calendar.

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## B E N C H M A R K



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B y P a t

# In Court

A u f d e r h e i d e

**J**URY DUTY. THAT'S WHAT THE official notice said. It also said I would be fined if I didn't show up. I thought about a trip to the grim concrete complex where Cook County criminal court is buried, flanked by towers ever-watchful on the jail squatting in the center. And I made a phone call.

The man sounded like he spent a lot of time talking to citizens who weren't civic-minded enough to leap at the chance for jury duty. He said that being a reporter wasn't a good enough excuse for him—although it might be for either the prosecutor or the defense—and assured me that the “one day, one trial” system made the whole procedure go down easy. (“One day, one trial” means if you don't get chosen as a juror the first day, you can go home free, and if you do get chosen you stay for one trial, usually only a couple of days.)

So one spring Tuesday I and around 380 other recruits—a mix of white, black and Hispanic, men and women, young and old—passed through the feel-you-up, check-your-purse security and filed into court.

It was worth it. It gave me a chance to participate in one of the great American democratic traditions, as they assured us in our morning briefing (complete with a slide show unredeemed by any tough of the vaunted American skill with media and technology). I got a chance to meet people I usually don't meet. And I provided the same opportunity for others.

It took them all day to decide they didn't want me. After drawing our selection lots, we sat down to wait, in a room equipped with vending machines and TVs tuned to soap operas.

My group's number came up just five minutes before we would have been able to get off for the day. The grumbling in line was one of many hints that, all things considered, we would rather have been at work. But the inconvenience and expense was countered by an undeniable sense of self-importance.

We were a pre-selected crowd—registered voters who also showed up on time for summonses. Those two elements biased the group toward the tidily re-

spectable, toward the lower-middle class, toward the kind of person who doesn't often get singled out for an opinion or rewarded for their unobtrusive good behavior. There was a touch of holiday atmosphere in our group.

Ours was a rape case that involved deciding whether the woman involved had consented. A tall, controlled young black man was the defendant, flanked by two young, inexperienced-looking public defenders. Across the courtroom were two middle-aged, wearily polite public prosecutors.

The judge, a slight man with a friendly, down-to-earth style, began the jury selection process with a general set of questions. He asked the entire group of some 75 people a battery of questions: Whether we knew or were related to police officers, or to public prosecutors or to lawyers; and whether we had been victims of a crime or had ever participated in a lawsuit. All these questions ended the same way—does this relationship or experience make it impossible for you to be an unbiased juror?

The answers surprised me. A few of the answers to the crime victim question were appalling—someone's mother had been raped and robbed, someone's father had been killed in a home robbery. But most people who lined up to answer the question—a hefty minority of the group—had been burglary or theft victims.

And they all wanted to recount their histories, even though the answer to the punchline question was a foregone conclusion—a thoughtful, somewhat prideful “No.” Some of the cases were so ancient and so removed from our criminal case—a trenchcoat stolen from a department store 15 years ago, for instance—that they only highlighted the heady sense of being on stage that had begun the day when the slide show told us how special we were.

This, I guess, was *our* day in court. But it was already late afternoon, and I began to worry that we would be called back for another day if we didn't get the process moving. I sat on my crime stories, praying that others would too. Eventually the judge also got tired and began choosing individual panel members. Each person was asked questions by the judge and then both sets of lawyers about their work and their attitudes.

As I waited my turn to get questioned, I began to put together a thumbnail sociological sketch of my group. The juror prospects were asked where they got information, and the social workers, housewives, waitresses, salesmen, truckers, paraprofessionals and others in my group had considerable consensus. They listen to an all-news commercial radio station and watch all the network TV news without much caring which one they turn on. They read a morning newspaper and *Time* magazine. They belong to one professional or hobby organization but never read its newsletter, and they're cutting back on magazine subscriptions. They are not, when you get down to it, readers.

But then neither are the lawyers. When one woman said she subscribed to the *NOW* newsletter and to *Mother Jones* the prosecutor hadn't heard of either of

them. The small pile of trade papers and magazines I had brought along was beginning to look like contraband to me.

The lawyers also wanted to know if each person grasped the concept of being innocent until proven guilty, and if they knew how testimony was given. Although I knew from talk in the hall that no one in my group wanted to serve on the jury, no one wanted to be rejected for not knowing procedure or not being able to withhold judgment until all the evidence was in, either. They began to sound a little insulted at the suggestion, in fact.

Then we got down to specifics. Would you hold it against this man that he is already in jail, that he is poor and couldn't post bond, that he has a public defender paid for by tax money? the public defenders asked. Would you hold it against a woman if she did something you wouldn't do, or you thought was stupid? asked the prosecutors. Oddly, no one, in this racially divided city, asked any of us whether we would be influenced by the fact that the young defendant was very black.

The ground was beginning to shift—the occasion was becoming a proving ground of more than fairness. It was becoming a question of having a world-view unmarked by strong opinions. With each question the jurors seemed more defensively unbiased.

Finally the judge got to me. “You say you're the editor of a newspaper,” he said to me. “Could you tell us something about it?”

“Yes, it's a weekly newspaper with a national circulation, a partisan paper, a left paper. It calls itself an independent socialist paper.”

“Independent socialist,” he said, filling in the dead spot I had just cleared out in the courtroom atmosphere. “Would that mean it's political?”

I agreed it would.

“Would it be fair to call it Marxist-Leninist?”

“No, it would not,” I said, unable to resist a friendly smile. “It's not affiliated with any political party, and you could summarize its editorial perspective quick-

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